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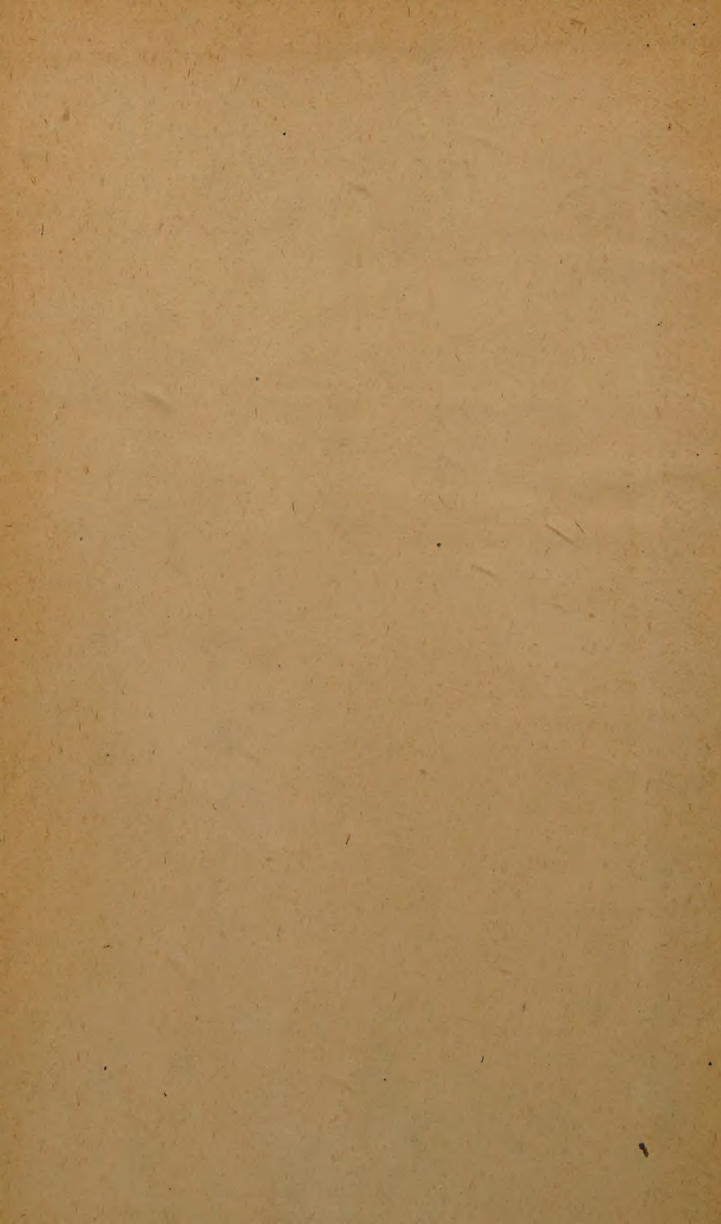
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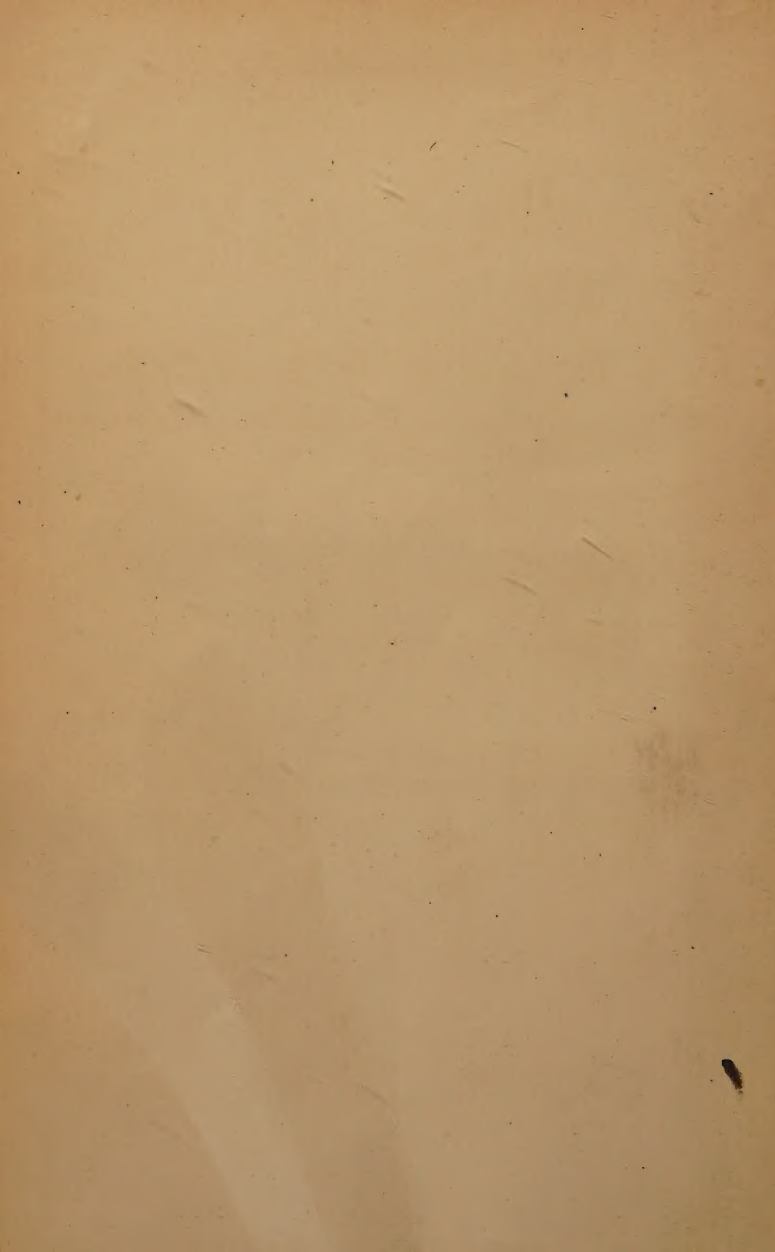
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THE  
DE CORONA  
OF  
DEMOSTHENES.

384-322 B.C.

WITH ENGLISH NOTES,

BY THE

REV. ARTHUR HOLMES, M. A.,

SENIOR FELLOW OF CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AND PREACHER AT THE  
CHAPEL ROYAL, WHITEHALL.

Revised Edition,

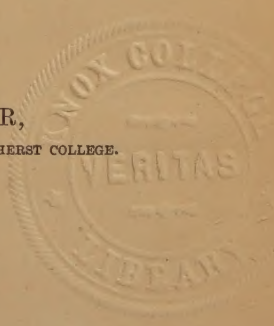
By W. S. TYLER,

WILLISTON PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN AMHERST COLLEGE.


SECOND EDITION.

BOSTON:  
JOHN ALLYN, PUBLISHER.  
1875.

32 + 272p.



Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1873,  
BY JOHN ALLYN,  
in the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.



UNIVERSITY PRESS: WELCH, BIGELOW, & Co.,  
CAMBRIDGE.

## PREFACE.

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THE text of this edition is almost an exact reprint of that in the *Catena Classicorum*, edited by Rev. Arthur Holmes of Cambridge, and Rev. Charles Bigg of Oxford. In revising the Notes of that edition, at the request of the publisher, it has been my single aim to produce, as nearly as possible within the same limits, a text-book of the *De Corona* adapted to meet the wants of students in our American colleges. With this end in view, I have omitted not a few of the English editor's superabundant citations from Greek authors, and whatever else in his Notes seemed to me to be superfluous or sure to be neglected by even the better scholars in a college class, and have filled the place with such grammatical references, exegetical annotations, and exact yet idiomatic translations of difficult passages, as the experience of many years in teaching Demosthenes has shown to be best calculated to lead students to a right method of studying the great Athenian orator.

When the English editor has fallen into manifest errors and misapprehensions, I have not hesitated to correct them, or to supersede his Notes by my own or those of other editors. In this revision I have had constantly before me the editions of Reiske, Schäfer, Dindorf, Dissen, Bremi, Westermann, Drake, Whiston, and others, and have derived from them many useful hints and suggestions. The Notes of

Whiston are so scholarly and judicious, and his renderings so just and happy, that I have adopted them pretty freely. If in any instance I have failed to give due credit for borrowed materials, the failure has been unintentional.

To the Introduction of the English edition, which is reprinted entire as a concise statement of the history of the De Corona, I have added an Analysis of the Argument, which, it is hoped, will aid the student in understanding the skilful arrangement of the orator and possessing himself of his masterly reasoning. So far from sympathizing with the depreciatory remarks which occur too frequently in the English edition, and which I have taken the liberty to abridge, I scarcely fall below Lord Brougham in my admiration of this matchless and almost faultless piece of rhetoric; and I could wish that not only students of Greek, but orators and students of oratory, would study and repeat the oration as his Lordship did, and as he advised the youthful Macaulay to do, so as "to enter into the spirit of the speech, thoroughly know the positions of the parties, follow each turn of the argument, and make the absolutely perfect and most chaste and severe composition familiar to his mind." And I venture to urge upon teachers and pupils such a repeated reading and reading aloud of the oration, as so inspired the Leyden Greek Professor Wytttenbach in his youth, that he fancied himself "to be Demosthenes standing before the assembly, delivering the oration, and exhorting the Athenians to emulate the bravery and glory of their ancestors," and thus gave him the first genuine impulse to an enthusiastic study of the language and literature of the Greeks.

W. S. TYLER.

AMHERST COLLEGE, January 1, 1874.



## INTRODUCTION.

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### I.

THE Speech on the Crown was made in defence of an accusation for *παράνομα*, which legal term we may paraphrase as a "Breach of the Constitution." Æschines had laid the charge and conducted the accusation. The accused was Ctesiphon, son of Leosthenes, an Athenian citizen belonging to the deme Anaphlystus. The ground of the action was as follows: Ctesiphon had proposed a decree, that, according to common Athenian usage, the state should bestow a crown of gold on Demosthenes, as one who had proved himself to be a public benefactor, not merely by his general policy, but also by his special liberality on two recent occasions. As member of the Fortifications Commission, appointed just after Chæronea, Demosthenes gave to the Building Fund no less a donation than three talents. At the same time, as trustee to the fund for theatrical and similar expenses, he gave to that fund a hundred minas as a voluntary contribution. These two instances seemed to supply an immediate opportunity for recognizing his general as well as his special merits. The decree further proposed expressly, that proclamation of this grant of honor should be made in the theatre of Athens, at the time of the Great Dionysia, when the new tragedies were coming on; that

is, at a time and place where crowds of strangers, as well as citizens, were certain to be assembled. Thus the honor conferred by the state would be at once of the most public as well as the most complimentary kind.

We cannot but think the proposal of this decree had further objects than merely to honor the orator. We may well suppose it included a strong political move on the side of the Constitutional party, who had always opposed and (so far as they could) resisted the power of Macedon. To laud Demosthenes and his policy was really to censure Philip; nor was it only to censure Philip, but also to stigmatize the whole Macedonian party, whose numbers were very strong in the Public Assembly of Athens, of which party Æschines may be called the political leader. Ctesiphon, it is to be noticed, was quite an unknown man. And yet his name is attached to this important decree. How can this be explained except by the supposition that he was put forward by other men of greater power and distinction? The Constitutional party, in fact, were throwing down a challenge to their opponents; and their action would certainly lead to a public trial and contest. Now the fact that Ctesiphon was an unknown and insignificant person would be useful to them in two ways for fighting their battle of politics. First, it would look as if the merits of Philip's chief antagonist were such as to call forth the most disinterested praises, uttered by an humble voice in the ranks with honest, untaught enthusiasm. Next, in attacking this decree, the prosecutor could get no hold on the character of its proposer. He would not be able to denounce the decree as proposed by a well-known demagogue, by a man of notorious character, whose very advocacy was enough to condemn his cause.

At the actual date of Ctesiphon's measure, the numbers

of the Macedonian party were probably weak in the Council, however strong they may have been in the body of the Assembly. The decree was passed by the Council, so far as we know, without opposition. It was then deposited among the public records, to await its confirmation by the vote of the next Assembly. At this stage it was merely a bill (*προβούλευμα*); it required the vote of the Assembly to make it an act (*ψήφισμα*). The month in which it passed the Council, we are told, was Pyanepsion (corresponding to the second half of October and the first half of November) in the year 337. No step was taken to bring it before the Assembly, its supporters probably waiting for a favorable crisis to do so. But the fortunes of Macedon continued to be on the ascendant; Philip had realized his full ambition, and was making his preparations to invade the Persian empire as commander-in-chief of Greece. The Macedonian party at Athens were accordingly stronger and bolder than ever. On the sixth day of Elaphebolion, five months after Ctesiphon's measure had received the sanction of the Council, Æschines laid a charge against him, before the Archons of the year, as having been guilty of *παράνομα* on three distinct grounds: (1) that he had proposed to honor with a public vote of thanks a commissioner and trustee whose accounts had yet to pass the ordeal of the public audit; (2) that he had moved for a proclamation to be made in a place distinctly forbidden by law; (3) that he had caused a document false in substance to be deposited among the public records. These first and second points were, of course, purely technical. The third was the main issue; whether it were true or false that Demosthenes had proved himself to be a public benefactor.

In order to stop Ctesiphon's measure from coming before the Assembly, it was quite sufficient for Æschines to have

given the above notice of action. Matters would rest in abeyance until the case was tried ; the state of the law on this point is incidentally mentioned in the course of our present speech.\* In an action whose issue was so doubtful, neither party would be very anxious to hurry matters on ; each would be interposing delays till a favorable crisis came for their own particular object. The death of Philip, the revolts and confusion which followed, the prospects of Alexander's reign, whose success or failure no one could predict, these and the like variations of fortune kept the fickle Democracy of Athens in a constant state of excitement. As the fortunes of Macedon waxed or waned for the moment, so for that moment the Macedonian party would have the Athenian mob at their back or else at their throat. Until it was clear beyond all question what Alexander was equal to doing, any attempt to precipitate matters was warily to be avoided by the Constitutional party no less than by their opponents. In the depth of degradation which Athenian politics had reached, statesmanship had come to be merely a game played for the paltry stake of personal wealth and distinction. We entirely exempt Demosthenes himself from this imputation ; and a few eminent names might be mentioned as being exceptions also. But the general run of leading politicians were animated by nothing else than the greed of personal advantage and interest. And the men composing the public Assembly were either puppets in the hands of a strong unscrupulous clique, or else a feeble *fainé-ant* set of obstructives, without the courage or honesty to open their lips and speak the truth. Hence the policy of Athens wavered like a reed in the wind. Let the news have been received from Asia of "another great Macedonian vic-

\* § 102, p. 36.



tory," and all Athens would be on its knees to worship the youthful and rising sun. Next day let a fiery piece of rhetoric burst from the lips of an independent member, and behold the "vulgus infidum" turning their backs on the luminary of yesterday's adoration. Men and parties being such at Athens, it is easy to see how the great question, which Ctesiphon's case would really raise, was allowed to lie in abeyance for some six years or more. At last, early in 330, when the arms of Macedon were thoroughly triumphant, Alexander a few months before having crushed Darius at Arbela, and Antipater having done the same to the Peloponnesian league in Greece, Æschines thought they were strong enough to command a majority in the Assembly, and that any body of dikasts appointed to try the case would reflect public opinion and give their verdict accordingly. So he hurried his action on, to get Demosthenes censured and ruined before some change of fortune should intervene in his favor.

A case so exciting as this insured a crowded court. From all parts of Greece, it is said,\* they flocked to Athens to hear the trial. Æschines, speaking for the prosecution, dwells first on his two strong points, the technical breaches of the law. He then proceeds to make a withering analysis of all the public and private life of Demosthenes, showing him up in such a light that, if it were true, his proper portion would be, instead of public honor, public infamy and exile. He divides his analysis into four chapters : the first denounces the orator as accomplice of Philocrates, in making the fatal peace of 346 ; the second imputes to the orator's Eubœan policy the final breach of that peace with Philip, and all the war and disorder belonging to the whole period ; the third

\* Cicero, de Opt. Gen. Orat. 7.

includes subsequent charges connected with the war against Amphissa, the alliance with Thebes, and the last conflict with Philip ; the fourth is confined to the reign of Alexander, taxing the orator with being Alexander's secret friend, whence three opportunities, it is alleged, have been allowed to slip, in any one of which the fortunes of Athens might fairly have been restored. Then there follows the famous picture of the perfect ideal politician, and a caricature of Demosthenes, to be viewed in strong contrast. The caricature is, of course, embellished with the grossest personality. And so concludes what we may call the first part of the oration, containing the separate arguments in support of the three distinct pleas. The second part is a warning to the Court on no account to allow Demosthenes to have this honor paid him. The present abuse of public laudation is contrasted bitterly with the ancient practice, when such honors were rare instead of common, and given only to men of merit, not to the worthless and venal. To remedy this, let them now revive the old severity of the Court in dealing with breaches of the Constitution. For instance, let them compel Demosthenes to reply to the charges in the order in which they were actually laid, taking the special illegalities first and the general topic after. Æschines then anticipates the line of his opponent's reply, and does his best to refute it, in detail as well as in general, specially explaining the reason why he had not brought forward these accusations sooner. He protests against the immorality, as well as the bad example to the young, of a man receiving a grant of honor who is not only undistinguished by any public service, but who has been also the cause of so many public disasters. Let them beware of styling such as the benefactors of the state ; let them think of their country and its

laws, and their own famous forefathers. The rest of his speech is merely a brilliant peroration.

Ctesiphon now rose to reply, but we do not possess the smallest record of what his answer was. Probably it only amounted to a formal denial of the charge. He might safely leave Demosthenes to deal with the whole matter. How the orator discharged this duty we see in the speech itself. It only remains to notice its general merit and value.

He vindicates with the greatest success his *honesty* as a politician. Whether his policy was wise,—whether the freedom of Athens could not have been better secured by making Philip their friend than by driving him into hostility,—this is another question. But the course which the orator advised the state to take was certainly honest and brave, if it did verge on desperate. And when we compare him with the other leaders of the same age and time, his courage and honesty really shine as beyond description brilliant. It is well to bear this in mind when we read his self-laudation, which entirely lacks the reserve and delicacy one would have preferred to see. But he spoke under strong provocation. Ever since this vote of honor had been proposed by Ctesiphon, accusation after accusation had been brought against Demosthenes by the friends and agents of Macedon. If they could once have secured a conviction, of course the decree of the Crown would have been ignominiously cancelled. Their attacks, in short, amounted to an organized persecution; and this persecution had lasted for something like six years. But the spirit of law and right was not entirely dead at Athens, although it was moribund. What with the strength of his character, and what with the strength of his party, the orator passed unscathed through this protracted ordeal. But the iron must indeed have entered into

his soul. And hence we can make a great allowance for the bitterness of his recrimination and the rather glaring colors of his eulogies on himself. He speaks like a man whose honest anger has been aggravated into passion, and like one whose consciousness of innocence has been aggravated into self-worship. We must also, in estimating the moral tone of the speech, allow for the decadence of his age and the low calibre of Athenian courts of justice. To a speaker addressing such an audience, exaggeration was indispensable, and personalities, however coarse, were more impressive than any logic. If we estimated the Speech on the Crown from an objective point of view, we might call its arguments somewhat strained, its veracity sometimes suspicious, and its taste by no means faultless. But defects which belong to an age or a nation can only be viewed apart. Whatever else may be said of the speech, "the greatest effort of the greatest orator," this at least is undeniable, — it won a triumph for right and truth at a very critical moment, and has cleared forever the public character of one who was truly a patriot.

The instances of suspicious veracity are noticed as they occur;\* my own theory respecting them is that the orator's statements are just true in the letter, just barely true and no more, anything but explicit, and very likely to convey a false impression to his hearers. Morally they are as indefensible as if they were actual falsehood; but rhetorically they were perfect triumphs of ingenuity and skill. The usual interpretation of them would make Demosthenes guilty not merely of direct misstatements, but also of positive stupidity; the former, I think, is very improbable, the latter quite impossible. To hope to defeat an opponent by flat

\* See §§ 22, 24, notes.



contradiction involving palpable falsehood, this would be simply absurd ; and Demosthenes of all men would have been the last to attempt it. So with respect to his defence on the two technical points of law, some of the editors impute to him a tissue of pure inventions ; and there again it is doubtful whether they do a greater insult to his truthfulness or to his common-sense, or, last of all, to his talent. I should fancy the case to be thus : that Æschines, in his accusations, had raked up clauses of law, existing indeed, but never now enforced, or at any rate very frequently violated by consent ; that Demosthenes, on the other hand, raked up clauses of exceptions and exemptions belonging to the same laws, and equally obsolete, or at any rate of equally little importance in point of right. He might as well have stated honestly that this was his line of argument. But such a statement would not have suited Athenian critical ears. Nothing except artifice would ever satisfy them. Æschines had shown superb artifice in getting the legal objections together ; it was now for Demosthenes to show the same by the manner in which he would overthrow them. If Ctesiphon's measure had really been so directly in violation of the law, is it likely that the Council would have passed it ? or that he himself would not have been warned to amend the measure for his own sake ? Again, if Demosthenes's reply on the legal points of the case had been really as convincing as he pretends it to be, is it likely that he would have objected to take those two points first and the general topic after ? I believe, in fine, that these two breaches of the law were nominal rather than real ; the law in both cases existed, if any one chose to enforce it ; the law might be made to apply to the present charge in both cases, if the Court were only disposed to rule in that direc-

tion. If they were otherwise disposed, the legal points were entirely worthless. If the Court wished to condemn Ctesiphon, they had a legal justification, although of a feeble kind. If the Court wished to acquit him, they had their justification then in common-sense and in common practice.

The real issue, as we have seen, in the present prosecution, was not an issue of points disputed in national law or national history; the issue was whether Philip's opponents at Athens could or could not be crushed; Demosthenes once overthrown, the rest of his party would prove easy victims. But Æschines had overrated his own ability and influence. The fiery rhetoric of the reply shrivelled the accusation to atoms. The popular Court of Justice at Athens, always notorious for their facility in yielding anything and everything to the eloquence of the moment, always in the hands and at the beck of the person who happened to speak last, had no hesitation whatever in their verdict on this occasion. By the honesty of their political leaders most of them would set but little store; by the talent of their public speakers there was scarcely a man who would not set a store which was the very greatest. And where, as on this rare occasion, honesty and talent fought combined, their force was irresistible, and their triumph perfectly certain. The few who did not care for the orator's eloquence would give him their support as an honest man and a victim; the many who did not care for the orator's honesty would give him their support as a truly glorious speaker. So that Æschines would be reduced to personal friends or bought partisans as his only supporters on the bench. It is little marvel that he failed to obtain even so much as one fifth of the votes, and left the Assembly a ruined man with nothing but exile before him.

The blow he had aimed at Demosthenes was suicidal to himself. Nor can we imagine the possibility of any other result than this when we read the rival speeches. The verdict of any who reads them will surely be always the same as that of the Court which heard them. True, the speech of *Æschines* has many points that are brilliant. But it is inferior in vigor, inferior in dexterity, inferior in its indignation, and inferior in its pathos. The one speech has a genuine ring of patriotism and courage about it; the other rings like debased metal, coated over thickly enough with an affectation of high principle, but still transparent to the naked eye as coin that will not pass. We have the two orations to compare in their last, most finished shape, not as they were actually spoken, but as they were corrected and polished, with a view to publication by their authors in permanent manuscript form. They are, therefore, works which embody reflection and logical power, as well as ready eloquence and mere rhetorical talent. The comparison leads to only one conclusion, that Demosthenes, in our common phrase, was the "better man all round." It is really impossible to say that *Æschines* has the advantage of him at any point whatever, — even on the two legal questions, be their value what it may. Never perhaps in the course of history was defeat in a political duel so decisive, so overwhelming, so irretrievable as this.

To conclude : if we cannot wholly approve the moral tone of the Speech on the Crown, we can praise without reserve or stint the magnificent style of its language. The orator's exquisite choice of words and their still more perfect arrangement, the splendid roll of his long periods, the delicate balance of the antitheta, the superb grammatical finish pervading the whole, — these are unmistakable indeed ; there can be

but one opinion about them. It is pleasant to know that even in those days the beaten rival could own so freely his victor's superior merit; we agree entirely with Æschines, that a speech so grand to read must have been sublime to hear; we echo his graceful compliment, and add ourselves what his Rhodian friends may perhaps have added then, "O 'si audissemus.'"

## II.

THE "Phocian War" and the "Peace of Philocrates" are introduced so prominently in the course of the Speech on the Crown that a brief historical notice of both is almost indispensable. But the records we have of this period are so confused and involved that we cannot assign exact dates to each of the several events: we are only able to trace their general sequence and connection. The War took its rise most probably out of the old ill-feeling which had always subsisted between Thebes and Phocis, and a strong wish, on the part of Thebes, to cripple Phocis as a dangerous and ill-affected neighbor. For this purpose they took advantage of the all but defunct Amphictyonic Council, whose meetings for a long period had been little more than formal, and whose decrees had ceased to be looked on as of any political importance. However, the state of Phocis, in the year 357, was prosecuted before this Council as guilty of sacrilege. The ground of the charge was the fact that they had occupied and tilled a part of the land which was dedicated to Apollo as supreme God of Delphi. The prosecution was actually brought by the Thessalian members of the Council; but it is almost certain that Thebes was the

prime mover in the case, and Thessaly merely their instrument. Sentence was passed on the Phocians, and a heavy fine imposed. At this time the leading men of Phocis were Philomelus and his two brothers, Onomarchus and Phayllus. At the instigation of Philomelus, the Phocians refused to pay the fine, marched upon Delphi and seized the town and temple, alleging that they were the original presidents of the oracle, and therefore entitled to hold it in their own possession. Of course they intended to use the oracle as the mouthpiece of their own policy, and in fact Philomelus did so on the earliest opportunity. Thus they were able, ostensibly, to condemn and annul the decrees of the Amphictyonic Council by the voice and sentence of the God himself, whose honor and worship that Council was specially appointed to guard. And hence the war, as regarded from the view of either party, was entitled the "Sacred War," and is commonly so referred to.

Two unsuccessful attempts to expel the Phocians from Delphi were made by the neighboring state, the Locrians of Amphissa. After the second defeat the Locrians implored the help of Thebes, appealing to them in the name of the God. Thebes assented, and induced Thessaly to join them in making the attack. On the other hand, Athens and Sparta favored Philomelus, though they could not give him active support; and Achæa sent him a small army of reinforcement. After an irregular campaign and a battle near the town of Neon, the result of which was doubtful, the Phocians retired on Delphi, and the allies went home. Philomelus, who was killed in the last engagement, was succeeded by Onomarchus as commander-in-chief. The latter seems to have been a vicious despot, but an able general. He conducted the war with such success that he laid



Locris and Doris waste, captured Amphissa and other towns, seized Orchomenus in Bœotia, and was actually besieging Chæronea when the Theban army compelled him to fall back on his own territory.

At this point of the war, in the year 352, Onomarchus was appealed to for aid by Lycophron of Pheræ (probably his ally; for Pheræ had refused to join the rest of Thessaly in the attack on Phocis): Pheræ was being besieged by Philip of Macedon, abetted, though little aided, by the northern Thessalians, at whose invitation he had first invaded Thessaly, in order that they might gratify their old grudge against the Pheræans. Onomarchus sent Phayllus with an army to relieve Pheræ, but he was defeated and driven back. Onomarchus then advanced upon Philip himself with the whole of his forces; but after some few partial successes, his army was utterly crushed, and he lost his own life. Pheræ surrendered, and Philip was master of Thessaly.

The remnant of the Phocian army, having returned under the command of Phayllus, seems to have been in a little time reconstituted as a military force. Mercenary troops at this period were easy enough to procure. And the plunder of the sacred treasury at Delphi had supplied the Phocians with ample funds for this and all the expenses of the war. They now seem to have invaded Bœotia with more or less of success; they prolonged the conflict up to the year 346. Meantime, Athens was intriguing to recover Thespiæ and Platea, and, at all events, Oropus; Sparta was trying to annex Megalopolis and Messene. Hence Megalopolis, in 352, solicited the aid of Athens against Sparta; but Athens, after much discussion, resolved to remain neutral. The Thebans, however, sent a strong force, just set at lib-

erty by the defeat of Onomarchus, to assist the Megalopolitans : Argos, Sicyon, Messene, also joined the same side. Sparta, on the other hand, was aided by Phocis and Phæræ : and a series of dubious battles followed, ending in a hollow truce, no decisive results whatever having been attained by either side.

Philip, in the interval, had made secure his ground in Thessaly, and then proceeded to do the same in Thrace. Forming an alliance with one Thracian potentate, Amadocus, he invaded the dominions of another, the famous Cersobleptes, defeated him in battle, and carried away his son as a hostage. Having thus made good his footing in Thrace, he made a demonstration against Heræum on the Propontis, to the great temporary wrath and excitement of the Athenians, who, however, took no action at present, in spite of the urgent appeals addressed to them by Demosthenes. Consequently Philip went on with his plans against the Chalcidian cities. In the year 349 he began the actual attack, having spent the two previous years in sowing the seeds of venal treachery in all their principal towns. Although interrupted by a revolt of Phæræ, and by the Athenian forces sent under Chares and Charidemus to the assistance and relief of Olynthus, Philip succeeded either by treachery or force in capturing all the chief of the Chalcidian cities, and Olynthus finally surrendered, and was razed to the ground in the year 348.

In the course of all these events Demosthenes had maintained the same consistent attitude : we have his speeches which trace the whole history ; the speech on behalf of the Megalopolitans, spoken in 353 or 352 ; the first Philippic, spoken in 351, when Philip had just commenced the siege of Heræum ; lastly, the Olynthiac orations in 349. The

orator, up to this point, had showed himself as the earnest and bitter antagonist of the king of Macedon, and with rare political foresight had understood from the outset the ulterior aims of Philip regarding the states of Greece.

And now we have come to the "Peace of Philocrates." In November of the year 347 Philocrates passed a resolution in the Assembly at Athens that envoys should be sent to Philip to make terms of peace and alliance. Among the envoys were Demosthenes and Æschines both : Philip met them at Pella. His diplomacy proved completely triumphant over the Athenian politicians ; he forced Athenian concessions out of them, one after another ; but they failed to elicit from him the slightest promise or arrangement respecting Thrace, Thebes, or Phocis. Yet, strange to say, when the envoys returned to Athens, in March of the year 346, after hot discussion, debate, and reciprocal vilification, the terms of peace were accepted ; and Antipater, on Philip's part, actually administered the oath of peace to the Athenians, so that their state was bound to inaction, Philip still remaining at liberty to carry on his operations until he should formally have taken the same oath himself. A second body of envoys from Athens to administer the oath to Philip, after delay and procrastination which makes their conduct most suspicious, find him at last in Thrace, just victorious in a campaign with his old enemy, Cersobleptes, who for the time is utterly crushed and made into a tributary subject. Thus the territory lying between Macedonia and the Athenian property in the Chersonese is entirely in Philip's hands. He can march through it as he pleases, and use its resources at his own discretion. Still the envoys show no haste in binding him down by the oath of peace. More than two months have now been

wasted since the oath was taken by Athens ; yet Philip beguiles the envoys to come with him southward, as far as Pheræ, before he consents to be sworn : at Pheræ he does at last condescend to confirm the treaty, with this grave exception however, that the Phocians are formally excluded from it. This was the death blow of Phocis. Phalæcus, their commander-in-chief (the son of Onomarchus, who had succeeded to the office on the death of his uncle Phayllus), at first prepared to resist Philip with the aid of Archidamus and a Lacedæmonian force. But he and Archidamus quarrelled as to the plan of the campaign, and the Lacedæmonians withdrew. Phalæcus then turned traitor, and made terms with Philip for himself and his mercenaries. Philip allowed them to retire unharmed, and these soldiers of fortune betook themselves to Crete. Meantime the Macedonian forces were in the heart of Phocis. The Phocians, although deserted by their leader and by their army, made a desperate effort to resist the invading foe. The result was that their cities were stormed and all the inhabitants taken captive.

The Amphictyonic Council met, to decide on the sentence that should be passed upon Phocis. They decreed that all the towns of the state, excepting Abæ, should be destroyed, and that henceforward the Phocians should live in small and scattered villages. It was further decreed that they should pay a fine of ten thousand talents, in annual instalments of sixty ; that they should be excluded henceforward from entering the temple of Delphi ; and that they should forfeit their seat in the Amphictyonic body. Their seat, with its two votes, was transferred to Macedon.

So concluded the Phocian War after some ten years' duration. It may seem strange that so small a state should

have ever been able to hold its own in a conflict thus severe and protracted. The explanation, however, lies in the simple facts of the case: their funds were ample, their leaders a very determined and influential family, their army was easy to raise and recruit with the help of mercenary troops. The cause of the war, and the war itself, is insignificant enough, and would scarcely have left a mark in history, but for the serious results of which it proved the beginning. Phocis, we may say, in point of fact, was Philip's opportunity in Greece, just as Pheræ had been his opportunity in Thessaly, and just as Cersobleptes had been his opportunity in Thrace. Step by step the king of Macedon pursued his southward way. His policy was as consistent and simple as it was unscrupulous and wholly immoral: to take part in a national quarrel with whatever side appeared the stronger, to pursue that quarrel up to its end till the hostile party was vanquished, when the whole nation in consequence would be at his own disposal, either as conquered subjects, or else as friends and allies. So he had dealt with Thessaly and Thrace; so he proceeded to deal with Greece. And wherever the force of arms would have been inadequate for his purpose, there he tried the more deadly forces of bribery and of corruption, until he had so far corroded the strength of the power he wished to assail, that their making any effectual resistance was really out of the question. Nor were his arts of corruption of a merely vulgar kind: they included personal courtesy and friendship, frequent and profuse hospitalities, the exercise of great diplomatic talent, as well as unlimited money. By such policy firmly maintained with immense tenacity of purpose, and carried out in all its details with extraordinary courage and vigor, Philip made his upward career as rapid as it was triumphant. But his aims were always far be-

yond the narrow limits of Hellas. As Thessaly and Thrace to him were but stepping-stones to Greece, so Greece itself was to him but a stepping-stone to Persia. He could only hope to invade the Persian Empire as leader of the united Greeks, and with all their power to support him. He could only hope to secure their support by bringing them all beneath his own control, either in right of conquest, or else in right of alliance. His direct aim therefore was to be recognized, in the first instance, as one of the Powers of Greece. The Phocian War supplied him the means, and the close of that conflict saw his end attained.

The Peace of Philocrates was imperilled in the very year it was made. Athens omitted to send envoys to represent her, as usual, at the Pythian games that year, where Philip, or at any rate Macedon, had been appointed to preside. Envoys were sent by Philip to Athens to call this conduct in question; but matters seem to have been adjusted. It was at this crisis that Demosthenes delivered his oration on the Peace, and deprecated most strongly the renewal of the hostilities.

The years 345 and 344 have little that is remarkable. Philip, renewing his old course of intrigue, gave the Messenians assistance against the Lacedæmonians, and so obtained for himself a hold on the Peloponnesus; he also achieved a triumphant expedition into Thrace, and on his return he made a redistribution of Thessaly. At this juncture Demosthenes delivered his Second Philippic. He had previously been sent by Athens as envoy to Messene and Argos, in order to caution those states against the designs of Philip.

In the next year, 343, fortune favored to some extent the Athenian undertakings. They baffled Philip in his attacks on Megara, Ambracia, and Leucas. They conducted nego-



tiations with him in a very independent tone respecting Cardia and Halonnesus and other places in dispute. This was the year when Demosthenes and Æschines both delivered their orations about the alleged Misconduct of Embassy. The speech of Demosthenes on Halonnesus, as well as these two speeches, give the very fullest account of the whole political situation.

In the two succeeding years, 342 and 341, the disturbances about Eubœa are the most important feature. Macedonian troops occupied Oreus, and revolutions, both in that town and Eretria, placed a despotic government in both, of course in Philip's interest. The king of Macedon was equally busy in Thrace and in the Propontis, where his action seriously menaced the interests and property of Athens. Demosthenes made his Speech on the Chersonese, and at his instance Athenian forces were sent to Eubœa, in the autumn of the year 341, which expelled the despots of Oreus and Eretria. Demosthenes was honored with the thanks of the state; and in this year he spoke his Third Philippic.

Matters had clearly come to a crisis when peace between Athens and Macedon could no longer be maintained. Philip laid siege to Perinthus as a means to capture Byzantium; finding an unexpected resistance, he blockaded Byzantium simultaneously. And early in 340 he sent a letter to Athens which amounted to a formal complaint of their hostile action in various cases since the conclusion of peace. Finally, it threatened them with speedy punishment, unless they altered their policy. On this challenge being received, Demosthenes urged that it should be accepted at once, and that a fleet from Athens should be sent to relieve Byzantium. War was then formally declared, and so ended the Peace of Philocrates.

## ANALYSIS OF THE ARGUMENT.

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AN oration which, by the unanimous verdict of the best judges in ancient and modern times, has been pronounced not only "the unapproachable masterpiece of Grecian oratory," but "the greatest speech of the greatest orator in the world," and which so candid and capable a critic as David Hume has declared to be "the most perfect production of the human intellect," cannot have been a mere display of subtle logic or splendid rhetoric. It must have possessed more substantial merits. It was, in fact, what all the judicial orations of Demosthenes were, emphatically an *argument* constructed on a well-considered and wisely ordered plan, having a beginning, a middle, and an end. The orator himself, in the opening of his speech, insists on "the order of arrangement" which "he has chosen for himself" as at once his constitutional right and quite indispensable to a successful defence. The student or reader, therefore, who would understand and appreciate the oration, should observe and see clearly what that order is.

The skeleton or frame-work of the argument is concisely as follows : The first eight sections constitute the exordium, or introduction, in which, modestly but earnestly, he claims his right to make his own defence in his own way, and with marvellous skill sweeps away all the cunning contrivances of

his prosecutor, and clears the ground for a fair fight. The next forty-four sections (9 – 52) are occupied with some preliminary and extraneous matters in reply to assaults partly on his private character and partly on public measures on which Æschines had dwelt at great length, but for which, being prior to the administration of Demosthenes, he was in no way responsible, or which, in legal terms, were wholly impertinent to the indictment. In the next seventy-three sections (53 – 125) he takes up the charges in the very order of the indictment: first, defending his public policy during the period in which he took a leading part in the affairs of the state; secondly, justifying the proposal of Ctesiphon that he should be crowned for his patriotic services while he was still in office and his accounts had not yet been audited; and, thirdly, showing that it was lawful and proper that the crown should be proclaimed, as Ctesiphon proposed, in the theatre at the Dionysiac festivals. This review of the measures by which he had deserved such public honors and for which, in repeated instances, he had been previously crowned, leads the orator to show up in contrast the character and conduct of his rival. This terrible invective occupies the next thirty-four sections (126 – 159). Having thus disposed, in passing as it were, of some of the strongest points in the argument of Æschines, he returns to a narration, rapid and graphic, of the course of events in the last great struggle of Grecian liberty against the supremacy of Macedon, and puts forth that world-renowned matchless justification or rather glorification of his policy which, though it led to the disaster at Charonea, was the only policy which Athens could have adopted consistently with her ancestral glory, and of which the Athenians themselves, after their defeat, expressed their unshaken and hearty approval by choosing

Demosthenes to pronounce the funeral oration over those who had fallen in the battle (160–290). In the remaining sections (291–324), which are of a more general nature, the orator portrays the ideal statesman and statesmanship which Athens required for those times, and shows how he himself had answered to that ideal, in contrast with the baseness and treachery of Æschines and his fellow hirelings and traitors in all the Grecian States, concluding with that magnificent prayer and imprecation which the best translators have confessed their inability to render adequately into any other language.

The commentators all remark the felicity of the general arrangement by which he throws the merely technical and legal points wherein his own weakness and the strength of his opponent lay into the middle of his oration, as Nestor advised Agamemnon to drive into the middle his poorest troops, while the beginning and end and main portion are so ablaze with the glory of his public policy, which his judges and hearers had adopted and still cherished as their own, that if they gave any consideration to these nice points of law, they could not but regard them practically as of no account. A critical examination of the whole structure of the oration, like that of Dissen, discloses a similar felicity in the arrangement of each and all of the several parts. At the same time, there is no appearance of art. It is that perfect art which conceals art, and seems like nature. The topics and arguments succeed each other in the most natural order. The critical reader cannot fail to discern this in the mere skeleton above given, and he will discern it more fully at every step as he advances in the reading and the study of the oration. Nor can he fail to observe with what consummate skill the orator plants

a battery on every position of which he takes possession in his argument, and then with what tremendous power he pours the hot shot of his fiery invective upon the character and standing of his rival.

The following remarks of Mr. Kennedy draw a just comparison between the two orators, and furnish a concise and graphic outline of the principal topics in the oration of Demosthenes. "As the speeches of both the orators are preserved to us, we have the means of comparing one with the other and forming our opinion of their respective merits. The world in general have decided as the people of Athens did, not only upon the oratorical merits of the two rivals, but upon the principal questions at issue between them. The accuser, who thought to brand his opponent with eternal infamy, has only added to the lustre of his renown. Independently of the internal evidence furnished by this and other orations of Demosthenes which have carried to most hearts a conviction of his patriotism, we cannot fail to be strongly influenced by the judgment of the Athenians themselves, whom neither their own past misfortunes nor the terror inspired by the late victory of Antipater could deter from giving a verdict, by which, while they acquitted Demosthenes from all blame, they in effect declared their approbation of his measures in opposition to Macedonia.

The reader who carefully examines the speech of Æschines will not fail to observe that ~~he~~ betrays a consciousness of weakness in that part of his case where he attacks the political character of his rival. He ~~seems~~ also to feel that he is speaking in opposition to the general feeling of his hearers. His own character as a politician had been dubious; his conduct so open to suspicion that, while he most bitterly assails his adversary, he is constantly under

the necessity of defending himself. On the whole life, public and private, of Demosthenes, he pours a torrent of invective ; to this the greater part of his speech is directed ; yet he seems to have been impelled to it rather by hate and revenge than by any calculation of advantage. On the other hand, when he deals with the legal part of his case, commenting on those specific violations of law which Ctesiphon's measure was charged with, it is evident that his strength lay there ; he handles his subject temperately, skilfully, and carefully, laboring to make every point clear to the jury, and to impress them with the conviction that to uphold the laws was the sure way to maintain constitutional government. On these points he mainly relied, hoping by this measure to secure a verdict which would give him a triumph over his enemy, and carry the general opinion over Greece that the credit and influence of Demosthenes were extinguished.

Demosthenes, feeling his weakness as to the legal questions, dexterously throws them into the middle of his speech and passes rapidly and lightly over them, while he devotes his greatest efforts to the vindication of his own merits as a patriot and a statesman. Refusing to comply with the insidious demand of Æschines that he should take the questions in the same order as his accuser, he insists upon his legal right to conduct his defence as he pleases. Opening with a modest exordium to conciliate the favor of the jury, he launches gradually into the history of his own conduct and measures, presenting first a general view of the condition of Greece when he entered public life, and of the difficulties under which the Athenians labored in their contest with Philip ; then setting forth his own views, plans, and objects, and showing that he had advised a course



of action which both the circumstances of the time and the honor of the country required. He apologizes for the self-praise mixed up with his speech, on the ground that he was drawn to it by his opponent. Entering on the Sacred War and the Peace of B. C. 346, he labors to exculpate himself from all share in the errors then committed, imputing them chiefly to the negligence of the other ambassadors and to the treachery of Philocrates and Æschines, who, by the false hopes which they excited at Athens, prevented the people from assisting the Phocians. Coming to the events which brought on a renewal of the war, he shows how Philip's ambitious projects and encroachments in every part of Greece made it necessary to oppose him, especially for the Athenians who were menaced at home as well as abroad by his aggressions in Thrace, Eubœa, and Megara. He pursues these topics until he has carried with him the feelings of his hearers, which must have been strongly on his side when he dilated on the glorious issue of the campaigns in Eubœa and the Propontis, and read to them the decrees of the Byzantines, Perinthians, and Chersonesites in honor of Athens, all which were due to the vigorous measures of his own administration. Having thus secured the good-will and sympathy of his judges, he proceeds to discuss the legal charges against Ctesiphon. Dwelling on them but a short time, he plunges into a personal attack upon Æschines, holding up to ridicule the meanness of his birth and parentage, and retorting on him the same coarse and opprobrious language which had been used towards himself. The bitterness of his invective is only to be excused on the ground of strong provocation, added to an assurance that his more grave charges of treason and corruption were well-founded. Those charges, so often advanced before, he here repeats,

denouncing more particularly the conduct of Æschines upon his mission to Delphi, B. C. 339, to which the disaster of Chærona was attributable. The account which Æschines had given of this affair he shows to be false, and enters upon a minute examination of the proceedings which caused Philip to be elected Amphictyonic general, and to march south an invading army, nominally against the Amphissian Ionians, really against Bœotia and Attica. A graphic description is given of the consternation at Athens on hearing that Philip had seized Elatea. The meeting of the people, the advice of Demosthenes to them, his embassy to Thebes, the success of his negotiations, and the conclusion of the alliance between Thebes and Athens are briefly recounted, Demosthenes forcibly pointing out the advantage of his measures, contending that they were not to be judged by the mere event of the battle, and that it was far more glorious for his country to be defeated in a struggle for the independence of Greece than it would have been to keep aloof from the contest. Here he makes that noble adjuration which has in all ages been admired, appealing to his countrymen by the deeds of their ancestors, of whom they would have acted most unworthily, had they without a struggle abandoned the post of honor bequeathed to them. He himself as a statesman would have deserved execration, had he advised such a course. The failure of their arms was not to be imputed to the minister, who had done all he could to insure their success, but rather to the commanders or to evil fortune. As Æschines had said so much about the ill-fortune which attended him, he draws a comparison between the different fortunes of himself and his rival, first of their early life and education, next of their course as public men. Æschines from the beginning had taken a

part which put him in opposition to the true interests of Athens, which caused him to rejoice at her disasters, to quail and tremble at her successes. He never came forward to assist her counsels when she needed them, but only to censure others who had given their honest advice because it had not turned out as well as was expected. It was a signal proof of his malignant disposition, that he had expatiated on the late disastrous events as if they were a subject of triumph to him, without shedding a single tear, without any faltering in his voice, without betraying the least emotion or symptom of grief. In reply to the challenge of Æschines to say for what merit he claimed the reward of a crown, Demosthenes boldly declares, for his incorruptibility, by which he was distinguished, not only from Æschines, but from the multitude of venal orators in the Grecian world. Had there been but a few more like himself in other states, Macedonia never could have risen to greatness upon their ruin. He had done all that was possible for a single man; and Athens, while she shared the misfortune of all the Greeks, had the consolation of reflecting that she had striven gallantly and bravely to avert the common calamity. Æschines had lauded the great men of a by-gone age, drawing an invidious contrast between Demosthenes and them. This, says Demosthenes, was not a fair way of judging him: he should be tried by reference to his own acts as compared with those of his contemporaries. Yet even from the former comparison he did not shrink; for he had acted on the same principles as the statesmen of olden time, striving always to maintain the honor and dignity of Athens. Attachment to his country and earnest anxiety for her welfare had been his constant and abiding motives of action: throughout his whole life,

in the day of power, in the hour of trial and adversity, those feelings had never deserted him : that was the test of a good and honest citizen ; by that he ought to be judged.

Such is, in substance, the argument of this celebrated oration as far as relates to the main question in the cause. The effect produced by the speech upon an Athenian audience can be but faintly imagined by us who read it at this distance of time. Although Athens was not then what she had once been ; although she was shorn of her honors, stripped of her empire and dependencies, without allies, without resources, without means of resistance to that iron power under which all Greece had succumbed, there was still the remembrance of the past, not yet extinguished by habitual servitude ; there were still vague hopes of future deliverance, and a fire of smothered indignation burning in the hearts of the people, ready to burst into a flame at the first opportunity. That such were their feelings is proved by what occurred seven years afterwards upon the death of Alexander, when Athens made one convulsive effort for freedom, ere she finally submitted to her fate. Demosthenes stood before his countrymen, representing all which remained of Athenian dignity and glory. If any man could help them, it was he. His advice had always been steady and constant ; his warnings should have been earlier attended to ; but even yet there might be need of him. He was their consolation for the past, their hope for the future. During the progress of his address such thoughts rushed upon their minds with greater and greater force, till they were elevated above themselves, and all the spirit of their ancestors was, for the moment, regenerate within them. They felt that it was impossible for them to find him guilty without passing sentence upon themselves, without con-

demning the policy which Athens had for a long series of years consistently pursued. The genius of Athens protected her from such disgrace ; and by an overwhelming majority, which left the accuser no choice but to retire into exile, a verdict was given for the defendant."

## ΥΠΕΡ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

ΠΡΩΤΟΝ μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς θεοῖς  
εὐχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, ὅσῃν εὐνοίαν ἔχων ἐγὼ  
διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην  
ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα,  
ἔπειθ' ὅπερ ἐστὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρ- 5  
ας εὐσεβείας τε καὶ δόξης, τοῦτο παραστήσαι τοὺς  
θεοὺς ὑμῖν, μὴ τὸν ἀντίδικον σύμβουλον ποιήσασθαι  
περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀκούειν ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ δεῖ (σχέτλιον γὰρ 2  
ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε), ἀλλὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸν ὄρκον,  
ἐν ᾧ πρὸς ἅπασιν τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις καὶ τοῦτο 10  
γέγραπται, τὸ ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν ἀκροάσασθαι. τοῦτο  
δ' ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ προκατεγνωκέναι μηδὲν,  
οὐδὲ τὸ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἴσην ἀμφοτέροις ἀποδοῦναι,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ, ὡς βεβού-  
ληται καὶ προήρηται τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἕκαστος, 15  
οὕτως εἶσαι χρήσασθαι.

Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγ' ἐλαττοῦμαι κατὰ τουτονὶ 3  
τὸν ἀγῶνα Αἰσχίνου, δύο δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,



καὶ μεγάλα, ἐν μὲν ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀγωνίζο-  
 μαι· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἴσον νῦν ἐμοὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν  
 εὐνοίας διαμαρτεῖν καὶ τούτῳ μὴ ἐλείν τὴν γραφὴν,  
 ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν — οὐ βούλομαι δὲ δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν  
 5 οὐδὲν ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου, οὗτος δ' ἐκ περιουσίας  
 μου κατηγορεῖ. ἕτερον δ', ὃ φύσει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώ-  
 ποις ὑπάρχει, τῶν μὲν λαιδοριῶν καὶ τῶν κατηγο-  
 ριῶν ἀκούειν ἡδέως, τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσι δ' αὐτοὺς ἄχθεσ-  
 4 θαι· τούτων τοίνυν ὃ μὲν ἐστὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν, τούτῳ  
 10 δέδοται, ὃ δὲ πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐνοχλεῖ, λοιπὸν  
 ἐμοί. κἂν μὲν εὐλαβούμενος τοῦτο μὴ λέγω τὰ  
 πεπραγμένα ἐμαυτῷ, οὐκ ἔχειν ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ  
 κατηγορημένα δόξω οὐδ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι  
 δεικνύναι· ἐὰν δ' ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ πεποίηκα καὶ πεπολί-  
 15 τευμαι βαδίζω, πολλάκις λέγειν ἀναγκασθήσομαι  
 περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ. πειράσομαι μὲν οὖν ὡς μετριώτατα  
 τοῦτο ποιεῖν· ὅτι δ' ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ ἀναγκάζῃ,  
 τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἔχειν ὁ τοιοῦ-  
 τον ἀγῶνα ἐνστησάμενος.

5 Οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πάντας ἂν  
 21 ὁμολογήσαι κοινὸν εἶναι τουτουὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐμοί τε  
 καὶ Κτησιφῶντι καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος ἄξιον σπουδῆς  
 ἐμοί· πάντων μὲν γὰρ ἀποστερεῖσθαι λυπηρόν ἐστι  
 καὶ χαλεπὸν, ἄλλως τε κἂν ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τῷ τοῦτο  
 25 συμβαίνει, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας καὶ  
 φιλανθρωπίας, ὅσῳ περ καὶ τὸ τυχεῖν τούτων μέ-  
 γιστόν ἐστιν. περὶ τούτων δ' ὄντος τουτουὶ τοῦ

ἀγῶνος, ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν ἀκοῦ- 6  
σαι μου περὶ τῶν κατηγορημένων ἀπολογουμένου  
δικαίως, ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν, οὓς ὁ τιθεὶς ἐξ  
ἀρχῆς Σόλων, εὖνους ὦν ὑμῖν καὶ δημοτικούς, οὐ  
μόνον τῷ γράφαι κυρίους ᾤετο δεῖν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ 5  
τῷ τοὺς δικάζοντας ὑμᾶς ὁμωμοκέναι, οὐκ ἀπιστῶν  
ὑμῖν, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας  
καὶ τὰς διαβολὰς, αἷς ἐκ τοῦ πρότερος λέγειν ὁ  
διώκων ἰσχύει, οὐκ ἔνι τῷ φεύγοντι παρελθεῖν,  
εἰ μὴ τῶν δικαζόντων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὴν πρὸς 10  
τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν διαφυλάττων καὶ τὰ τοῦ  
λέγοντος ὑστέρου δίκαια εὐνοϊκῶς προσδέξεται,  
καὶ παρασχὼν ἑαυτὸν ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοτέρ-  
οις ἀκροατὴν οὕτω τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιήσεται περὶ  
ἀπάντων.

15

Μέλλων δὲ τοῦ τε ἰδίου βίου παντὸς, ὡς ἔοικε, 8  
λόγον διδόναι τήμερον καὶ τῶν κοινῇ πεπολιτευμέν-  
ων, βούλομαι πάλιν τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλέσαι, καὶ  
ἐναντίον ὑμῶν εὐχομαι πρῶτον μὲν, ὅσῃν εὐνοίαν  
ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, 20  
τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τουτοῦ τὸν  
ἀγῶνα, ἔπειθ' ὅ τι μέλλει συνοίσειν καὶ πρὸς εὐ-  
δοξίαν κοινῇ καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἐκάστω, τοῦτο  
παραστήσαι τοὺς θεοὺς πᾶσιν ὑμῖν περὶ ταυτησὶ  
τῆς γραφῆς γινῶναι.

25

Εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ὧν ἐδίωκε μόνον κατηγορήσεν 9  
Αἰσχίνης, καὶ γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προβουλεύματος

εὐθὺς ἂν ἀπελογούμην· ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐκ ἐλάττω λόγον  
 τᾶλλα διεξιὼν ἀνήλωκε καὶ τὰ πλείστα κατεψεύ-  
 σατό μου, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νομίζω καὶ δίκαιον ἅμα  
 βραχέα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ τούτων πρώτον  
 5 εἰπεῖν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις ἡγμένος  
 ἄλλοτριώτερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γραφῆς δικαίων ἀκούῃ  
 μου.

10 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἰδίων ὅσα λοιδορούμενος βε-  
 βλασφήμηκε περὶ ἐμοῦ, θεάσασθε ὡς ἀπλᾶ καὶ  
 10 δίκαια λέγω. εἰ μὲν ἴστε με τοιοῦτον οἶον οὗτος  
 ἤτιᾶτο (οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοθί που βεβίωκα ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν),  
 μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀνάσχησθε, μηδ' εἰ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ  
 ὑπέρευ πέπολίτευμαί, ἀλλ' ἀναστάντες καταψηφί-  
 σασθε ἤδη· εἰ δὲ πολλῷ βελτίῳ τούτου καὶ ἐκ  
 15 βελτιόνων, καὶ μηδενοῦ τῶν μετρίων, ἵνα μηδὲν  
 ἐπαχθεὶς λέγω, χεῖρονα καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς  
 ὑπειλήφατε καὶ γιγνώσκετε, τούτῳ μὲν μηδ' ὑπὲρ  
 τῶν ἄλλων πιστεύετε (δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ὁμοίως ἅπαντ'  
 ἐπλάττετο), ἐμοὶ δ', ἣν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον  
 20 εὐνοίαν ἐνδέδειχθε ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων τῶν πρότε-  
 11 ρον, καὶ νυνὶ παράσχεσθε. κακοήθης δ' ὢν, Αἰσ-  
 χίνη, τοῦτο παντελῶς εὐηθες ᾤήθης, τοὺς περὶ τῶν  
 πεπραγμένων καὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους ἀφέντα  
 με πρὸς τὰς λοιδορίας τὰς παρὰ σοῦ τρέψεσθαι.  
 25 οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοῦτο· οὐχ οὕτω τετύφωμαι· ἀλλ'  
 ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἃ κατεψεύδου καὶ  
 διέβαλλες, αὐτίκα ἐξετάσω, τῆς δὲ πομπείας ταύτης

τῆς ἀνέδην οὕτωςι γεγεννημένης ὕστερον, ἂν βουλο-  
μένοις ἀκούειν ἢ τουτοῖσι, μνησθήσομαι.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατηγορημένα πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, καὶ 12  
περὶ ὧν ἐνίων μεγάλας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας οἱ νόμοι  
διδόασι τιμωρίας· τοῦ δὲ παρόντος ἀγῶνος ἡ προαί- 5  
ρεσις αὐτῇ ἐχθροῦ μὲν ἐπήρειαν ἔχει καὶ ὕβριν καὶ  
λοιδορίαν καὶ προπηλακισμόν ὁμοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ  
τοιαῦτα· τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν καὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν  
τῶν εἰρημένων, εἴπερ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τῇ πόλει  
δίκην ἀξίαν λαβεῖν, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖ- 13  
σθαι δεῖ τὸ προσελθεῖν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ λόγου τυχεῖν, 11  
οὐδ' ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει καὶ φθόνου τοῦτο ποιεῖν·  
οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀρθῶς ἔχον οὔτε πολιτικὸν οὔτε  
δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς  
ἀδικοῦντά με ἑώρα τὴν πόλιν, οὐσί γε τηλικούτοις 15  
ἡλίκ᾽ νῦν ἐτραγῶδει καὶ διεξήγει, ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων  
τιμωρίαις παρ' αὐτὰ τὰδικήματα χρῆσθαι, εἰ μὲν  
εἰσαγγελίας ἄξια πράττοντα ἑώρα, εἰσαγγέλλοντα  
καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἰς κρίσιν καθιστάντα παρ'  
ὑμῖν, εἰ δὲ γράφοντα παράνομα, παρανόμων γραφό- 20  
μενον· οὐ γὰρ δήπου Κτησιφῶντα μὲν δύναται διώ-  
κειν δι' ἐμὲ, ἐμέ δ', εἴπερ ἐξελέγξειν ἐνόμιζεν, αὐτὸν  
οὐκ ἂν ἐγράψατο. καὶ μῆν εἴ τι τῶν ἄλλων ὧν 14  
νυνὶ διέβαλλε καὶ διεξήγει ἢ καὶ ἄλλ' ὅτιοῦν ἀδι-  
κοῦντά με ὑμᾶς ἑώρα, εἰσὶ νόμοι περὶ πάντων καὶ 25  
τιμωρίαι καὶ ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις πικρὰ καὶ μεγάλη  
ἔχουσαι τὰπιτίμια, καὶ τούτοις ἐξῆν ἅπασι χρῆσθαι

- κατ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ὀπηνίκα ἐφαίνετο ταῦτα πεποιηκὼς καὶ  
τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κεχρημένος τοῖς πρὸς ἐμὲ, ὡμολο-  
15 γεῖτ' ἀνὴ κατηγορία τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. νῦν δ' ἐκστὺς  
τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας ὁδοῦ καὶ φυγὼν τοὺς παρ'  
5 αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους, τοσούτοις ὕστερον  
χρόνοις αἰτίας καὶ σκώμματα καὶ λοιδορίας συμφο-  
ρήσας ὑποκρίνεται· εἴτα κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἐμοῦ, κρίνει  
δὲ τουτονι, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀγῶνος ὅλου τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ  
ἔχθραν προΐσταται, οὐδαμοῦ δ' ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀπηντη-  
10 κὼς ἐμοὶ τὴν ἐτέρου ζητῶν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀφελέσθαι  
16 φαίνεται. καίτοι πρὸς ἅπασιν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,  
τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις οἷς ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ὑπὲρ Κτησι-  
φῶντος ἔχοι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ μάλ' εἰκό-  
τως ἂν λέγειν, ὅτι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔχθρας ἡμᾶς ἐφ'  
15 ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δίκαιον ἦν τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι,  
οὐ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνίζεσθαι παραλείπειν,  
ἐτέρῳ δ' ὅτῳ κακόν τι δώσομεν ζητεῖν· ὑπερβολὴ  
γὰρ ἀδικίας τοῦτό γε.
- 17 Πάντα μὲν τοίνυν τὰ κατηγορημένα ὁμοίως ἐκ  
20 τούτων ἂν τις ἴδοι οὔτε δικαίως οὔτ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας  
οὐδεμιᾶς εἰρημένα· βούλομαι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον  
αὐτῶν ἐξετάσαι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης  
καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας κατεψεύσατό μου, τὰ πεπραγ-  
μένα ἑαυτῷ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἀνατιθεὶς ἐμοί. ἔστι  
25 δ' ἀναγκαῖον, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ προσῆκον  
ἴσως, ὡς κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους εἶχε τὰ πράγ-  
ματα ἀναμνήσαι ὑμᾶς, ἵνα πρὸς τὸν ὑπάρχοντα και-  
ρὸν ἕκαστα θεωρήτε.

Τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ συστάντος πολέμου, οὐ δι' 18  
 ἐμὲ (οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐπολιτευόμην πω τότε), πρῶτον  
 μὲν ὑμεῖς οὕτω διέκεισθε ὥστε Φωκέας μὲν βού-  
 λεσθαι σωθῆναι, καίπερ οὐ δίκαια ποιούντας ὁρῶν-  
 τες, Θηβαίοις δ' ὅτιοῦν ἂν ἐφησθῆναι παθοῦσιν, 5  
 οὐκ ἀλόγως οὐδ' ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς ὀργιζόμενοι· οἷς  
 γὰρ ἠτύχηκεσαν ἐν Λεύκτροις, οὐ μετρίως ἐκέ-  
 χρητο· ἔπειθ' ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἅπασα διειστῆκει,  
 καὶ οὐθ' οἱ μισοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίους οὕτως ἴσχυον  
 ὥστε ἀνελεῖν αὐτοὺς, οὐθ' οἱ πρότερον δι' ἐκείνων 10  
 ἄρχοντες κύριοι τῶν πόλεων ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τις ἦν  
 ἄκριτος καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 ἅπασιν ἔρις καὶ ταραχή. ταῦτα δ' ὁρῶν ὁ Φίλιπ- 19  
 πος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀφανῆ) τοῖς παρ' ἐκάστοις προδό-  
 ταις χρήματα ἀναλίσκων πάντας συνέκρουε καὶ 15  
 πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐτάραττεν· εἶτ' ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτανον ἄλλοι  
 καὶ κακῶς ἐφρόνουν, αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο καὶ κατὰ  
 πάντων ἐφύετο. ὥς δὲ τालαιπωρούμενοι τῷ μήκει  
 τοῦ πολέμου οἱ τότε μὲν βαρεῖς, νῦν δ' ἀτυχεῖς Θη-  
 βαῖοι φανεροὶ πᾶσιν ἦσαν ἀναγκασθησόμενοι κατα- 20  
 φεύγειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, ὁ Φίλιππος, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο  
 μηδὲ συνέλθοιεν αἱ πόλεις, ὑμῖν μὲν εἰρήνην, ἐκεί-  
 νοις δὲ βοήθειαν ἐπηγγείλατο. τί οὖν συνηγωνί- 20  
 σατο αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν ὀλίγου δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐκόντας  
 ἐξαπατωμένους; ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, εἴτε χρη 25  
 κακίαν εἶτ' ἄγνοίαν εἴτε καὶ ἀμφότερα ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν,  
 οἱ πόλεμον συνέχῃ καὶ μακρὸν πολεμοῦντων ὑμῶν,



καὶ τοῦτον ὑπὲρ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων, ὥς ἔργῳ  
φανερὸν γέγονεν, οὔτε χρήμασιν οὔτε σώμασιν οὔτ'  
ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀπάντων συνελάμβανον ὑμῖν· οἷς  
καὶ δικαίως καὶ προσηκόντως ὀργιζόμενοι ἐτοίμως  
5 ὑπηκούσατε τῷ Φιλίππῳ. ἡ μὲν οὖν τότε συγχω-  
ρηθεῖσα εἰρήνη διὰ ταῦτ', οὐ δι' ἐμὲ, ὥς οὗτος διέ-  
βαλλεν, ἐπράχθη· τὰ δὲ τούτων ἀδικήματα καὶ  
δωροδοκήματα ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμά-  
21 των, ἂν τις ἐξετάξῃ δικαίως, αἵτια εὐρήσει. καὶ  
10 ταυτὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ  
διεξέρχομαι. εἰ γὰρ εἶναί τι δοκοίη τὰ μάλιστα ἐν  
τούτοις ἀδίκημα, οὐδέν ἐστι δήπου πρὸς ἐμὲ, ἀλλ'  
ὁ μὲν πρῶτος εἰπὼν καὶ μνησθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης  
Ἀριστόδημος ἦν ὁ ὑποκριτής, ὁ δ' ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ  
15 γράψας καὶ ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τούτου μισθώσας ἐπὶ ταῦτα  
Φιλοκράτης ὁ Ἀγνούσιος, ὁ σὸς, Αἰσχίνη, κοινωνὸς,  
οὐχ ὁ ἐμὸς, οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαρραγῆς ψευδόμενος, οἷ  
δὲ συνειπόντες ὅτου δήποτε ἔνεκα (ἐγὼ γὰρ τοῦτό γ'  
ἐν τῷ παρόντι) Εὐβουλος καὶ Κηφισοφῶν· ἐγὼ δ'  
22 οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ. ἀλλ' ὅμως, τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων  
21 καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας οὔτω δεικνυμένων, εἰς  
τοῦθ' ἤκεν ἀναιδείας ὥστ' ἐτόλμα λέγειν ὥς ἄρα  
ἐγὼ πρὸς τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης αἴτιος γεγενῆσθαι καὶ  
κεκωλυκὼς εἶην τὴν πόλιν μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου  
25 τῶν Ἑλλήνων αὐτὴν ποιήσασθαι. εἶτ' ὦ — τί ἂν  
εἰπὼν σέ τις ὀρθῶς προσείποι; ἔστιν ὅπου σὺ  
παρὼν τηλικαύτην πράξιν καὶ συμμαχίαν, ἡλίκην

νυνὶ διεξήεις, ὁρῶν ἀφαιρούμενόν με τῆς πόλεως  
 ἡγανάκτησας, ἢ παρελθὼν ταῦτα ἃ νῦν κατηγορεῖς  
 ἐδίδαξας καὶ διεξήλθες ; καὶ μὴν εἰ τὸ κωλύσαι τὴν 23  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων κοινωνίαν ἐπεπράκειν ἐγὼ Φιλίππῳ,  
 σοὶ τὸ μὴ σιγῆσαι λοιπὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ βοᾶν καὶ δια- 5  
 μαρτύρεσθαι καὶ δηλοῦν τουτοισί. οὐ τοίνυν ἐποίη-  
 σας οὐδαμοῦ τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἤκουσέ σου ταύτην τὴν  
 φωνὴν οὐδεὶς, εἰκότως· οὔτε γὰρ ἦν πρεσβεία πρὸς  
 οὐδένας ἀπεσταλμένη τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ  
 πάλαι πάντες ἦσαν ἐξεληλεγμένοι, οὔθ' οὗτος ὑγιὲς 10  
 περὶ τούτων εἶρηκεν οὐδέν. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων καὶ 24  
 διαβάλλει τὴν πόλιν τὰ μέγιστα ἐν οἷς ψεύδεται·  
 εἰ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἅμα τοὺς μὲν Ἑλληνας εἰς πόλεμον  
 παρεκαλεῖτε, αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ εἰρήνης  
 πρέσβεις ἐπέμπετε, Εὐρυβάτου πρᾶγμα, οὐ πόλεως 15  
 ἔργον οὐδὲ χρηστῶν ἀνθρώπων διεπράττεσθε. ἀλλ'  
 οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστι· τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι  
 μετεπέμπεσθ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ; ἐπὶ  
 τὴν εἰρήνην ; ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχεν ἅπασιν. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν  
 πόλεμον ; ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ περὶ εἰρήνης ἐβουλευέσθε. 20  
 οὐκοῦν οὔτε τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης ἡγεμὼν οὐδ'  
 αἴτιος ὢν ἐγὼ φαίνομαι, οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων ὧν κατε-  
 ψεύσατό μου οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὃν δείκνυται.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσατο τὴν εἰρήνην ἡ πόλις, 25  
 ἐνταῦθα πάλιν σκέψασθε τί ἡμῶν ἐκάτερος προεί- 25  
 λετο πράττειν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τούτων εἴσεσθε τίς ἦν ὁ  
 Φιλίππῳ πάντᾳ συναγωνιζόμενος, καὶ τίς ὁ πράτ-

των ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον ζητῶν.  
ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν ἔγραψα βουλευὼν ἀποπλεῖν τὴν  
ταχίστην τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς ἂν  
ὄντα Φίλιππον πυνθάνωνται, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀπο-  
5 λαμβάνειν· οὗτοι δὲ οὐδὲ γράψαντος ἐμοῦ ταῦτα  
26 ποιεῖν ἠθέλησαν. τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἐδύνατο, ὧ ἄνδρες  
Ἀθηναῖοι; ἐγὼ διδάξω. Φιλίππῳ μὲν ἦν συμφέρον  
ὥς πλείστον τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον γενέσθαι τῶν ὀρκῶν,  
ὑμῖν δ' ὥς ἐλάχιστον. διὰ τί; ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐκ ἀφ'  
10 ἧς ὠμόσατε ἡμέρας μόνον, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς ἠλπίσατε τὴν  
εἰρήνην ἔσεσθαι, πάσας ἐξελύσασθε τὰς παρασκευὰς  
τὰς τοῦ πολέμου, ὃ δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου  
μάλιστα ἐπραγματεύετο, νομίζων, ὅπερ ἦν ἀληθές,  
ὅσα τῆς πόλεως προλάβοι πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς ὀρκους  
15 ἀποδοῦναι, πάντα ταῦτα βεβαίως ἔξειν· οὐδένα γὰρ  
27 τὴν εἰρήνην λύσειν τούτων ἕνεκα. ἃ ἐγὼ προορώ-  
μενος, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ λογιζόμενος τὸ ψή-  
φισμα τοῦτο γράφω, πλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς  
ἂν ᾗ Φίλιππος, καὶ τοὺς ὀρκους τὴν ταχίστην ἀπο-  
20 λαμβάνειν, ἵν' ἐχόντων τῶν Θρακῶν, τῶν ὑμετέρων  
συμμάχων, ταῦτα τὰ χωρία ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τὸ  
Σέρρειον καὶ τὸ Μυρτηνὸν καὶ τὴν Ἐργίσκην, οὕτω  
γίγνοινθ' οἱ ὅρκοι, καὶ μὴ προλαβὼν ἐκεῖνος τοὺς  
ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων κύριος τῆς Θράκης κατα-  
25 σταίῃ, μὴδὲ πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων, πολλῶν δὲ  
στρατιωτῶν εὐπορήσας ἐκ τούτων ῥαδίως τοῖς λοι-  
28 ποῖς ἐπιχειροίῃ πράγμασιν. εἶτα τοῦτο μὲν οὐχὶ

λέγει τὸ ψήφισμα, οὐδ' ἀναγιγνώσκει· εἰ δὲ βου-  
λεύων ἐγὼ προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις ὥμην δεῖν,  
τοῦτό μου διαβάλλει. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν;  
μὴ προσάγειν γράψαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ἤκοντας, ἵν'  
ὑμῖν διαλέχθωσιν; ἢ θέαν μὴ κατανεῖμαι τὸν ἀρχι- 5  
τέκτονα αὐτοῖς κελεῦσαι; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβο-  
λοῖν ἐθεώρουν ἂν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτ' ἐγράφη. ἢ τὰ μικρὰ  
συμφέροντα τῆς πόλεως ἔδει με φυλάττειν, τὰ δ'  
ὅλα, ὥσπερ οὗτοι, πεπρακέναι; οὐ δήπου. λέγε  
τοίνυν μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τουτὶ λαβὼν, ὃ σαφῶς οὗτος 10  
εἰδὼς παρέβη.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

29

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Μησιφίλου, ἑκατομβαιῶνος ἔην καὶ νέα,  
φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Πανδιονίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους  
Παιανιεύς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἀποστείλας πρέσβεις περὶ  
τῆς εἰρήνης ὁμολογουμένας πεποιήται συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ  
βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη ἐπιτελεσ-  
θῇ ἢ ἐπιχειροτουνηθεῖσα ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρέσβεις  
ἐλέσθαι ἐκ πάντων Ἀθηναίων ἥδη πέντε, τοὺς δὲ χειροτουνηθέν-  
τας ἀποδημεῖν μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ποιουμένους, ὅπου ἂν ὄντα  
πυνθάνωνται τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους λαβεῖν τε παρ'  
αὐτοῦ καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁμολογημέναις συνθή-  
καις αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, συμπεριλαμβάνοντας καὶ  
τοὺς ἐκατέρων συμμάχους. πρέσβεις ἡρέθησαν Εὐβουλος  
Ἀναφλύστιος, Αἰσχίνης Κοθωκίδης, Κηφισοφῶν Ῥαμνούσιος,  
Δημοκράτης Φλυεύς, Κλέων Κοθωκίδης.]

Ταῦτα γράψαντος ἐμοῦ τότε καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει 30  
συμφέρουν, οὐ τὸ Φιλίππῳ ζητοῦντος, βραχὺ φρον-  
τίσαντες οἱ χρηστοὶ πρέσβεις οὗτοι καθήντο ἐν

Μακεδονία τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας, ἕως ἦλθε Φίλιππος ἐκ Θράκης πάντα καταστρεφάμενος τὰ κεῖ, ἐξὸν ἡμερῶν δέκα, μᾶλλον δὲ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων, εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀφίχθαι καὶ τὰ χωρία σῶσαι, λα-  
 5 βόντας τοὺς ὄρκους πρὶν ἐκείνους ἐξελεῖν αὐτά· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἦψατ' αὐτῶν παρόντων ἡμῶν, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ὠρκίζομεν αὐτὸν, ὥστε τῆς εἰρήνης ἂν διημαρτήκει καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀμφότερα εἶχε, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰ χωρία.

31 Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ πρῶτον κλέμμα  
 11 μὲν Φιλίππου, δωροδόκημα δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων τούτων ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο· ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ ὁμολογῶ πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεισθαι τούτοις. ἕτερον δ' εὐθύς ἐφεξῆς ἔτι  
 32 τούτου μείζον κακούργημα θεάσασθε. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ  
 16 ὁμολόγησε τὴν εἰρήνην ὁ Φίλιππος προλαβὼν τὴν Θράκην διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας τῷ ἐμῷ ψηφίσματι, πάλιν ὠνεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν ὅπως μὴ ἀπίω-  
 μεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας, ἕως τὰ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ἐπὶ  
 20 τοὺς Φωκέας εὐτρεπῇ ποιήσαιο, ἵνα μὴ, δεῦρ' ἀπαγγειλάντων ἡμῶν ὅτι μέλλει καὶ παρασκευά-  
 ζεται πορεύεσθαι, ἐξέλθοιτε ὑμεῖς καὶ περιπλεύ-  
 σαντες ταῖς τριήρεσιν εἰς Πύλας ὥσπερ πρότερον κλείσατε τὸν πορθμὸν, ἀλλ' ἅμ' ἀκούοιτε ταῦτα  
 25 ἀπαγγελλόντων ἡμῶν κακέϊνος ἐντὸς εἴη Πυλῶν καὶ  
 33 μηδὲν ἔχοιθ' ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι. οὕτω δ' ἦν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν φόβῳ καὶ πολλῇ ἀγωνίᾳ, μὴ καὶ ταῦτα προειλη-

φότος αὐτοῦ, εἰ πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι  
 ψηφίσαισθε βοηθεῖν, ἐκφύγοι τὰ πράγματ' αὐτὸν,  
 ὥστε μισθοῦνται τὸν κατάπτυστον τουτονὶ, οὐκέτι  
 κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβειων, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ καθ'  
 αὐτὸν, τοιαῦτα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι δι' 5  
 ὧν ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο. ἀξιῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες 34  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ δέομαι τοῦτο μεμνήσθαι παρ' ὅλον  
 τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὅτι μὴ κατηγορήσαντος Αἰσχίνου μηδὲν  
 ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιού-  
 μην ἕτερον, πάσαις δ' αἰτίαις καὶ βλασφημίαις ἅμα 10  
 τούτου κεχρημένου ἀνάγκη καὶ μοι πρὸς ἕκαστα τῶν  
 κατηγορημένων μικρὰ ἀποκρίνασθαι. τίνες οὖν 35  
 ἦσαν οἱ παρὰ τούτου λόγοι τότε ῥηθέντες, καὶ δι'  
 οὓς ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο; ὥς οὐ δεῖ θορυβεῖσθαι τῷ  
 παρεληλυθέναι Φίλιππον εἴσω Πυλῶν· ἔσται γὰρ 15  
 ἅπανθ' ὅσα βούλεσθ' ὑμεῖς, ἂν ἔχηθ' ἡσυχίαν, καὶ  
 ἀκούσεσθε δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, οἷς μὲν ἐχθρὸς  
 ἦκει, φίλον αὐτὸν γεγεννημένον, οἷς δὲ φίλος, τὸνναν-  
 τίον ἐχθρόν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα τὰς οἰκειότητος  
 ἔφη βεβαιοῦν, μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων, ἀλλὰ τὸ 20  
 ταῦτ' ἀνυμνεῖν· συμφέρειν δὲ Φιλίππῳ καὶ Φω-  
 κεῦσι καὶ ὑμῖν ὁμοίως ἅπασι τῆς ἀναλγησίας καὶ  
 τῆς βαρύτητος ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς τῶν Θεβαίων.  
 ταῦτα δ' ἀσμένως τινὲς ἤκουον αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τόθ' 36  
 ὑποῦσαν ἀπέχθειαν πρὸς τοὺς Θεβαίους. τί οὖν 25  
 συνέβη μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν; τοὺς μὲν  
 Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι καὶ κατασκαφῆναι τὰς πόλεις

αὐτῶν, ὑμᾶς δ' ἡσυχίαν ἀγαγόντας καὶ τούτῳ πει-  
 σθέντας μικρὸν ὕστερον σκευαγωγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν,  
 τοῦτον δὲ χρυσίον λαβεῖν, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις τὴν  
 μὲν ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς τῇ  
 5 πόλει γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ χάριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγ-  
 37 μένων Φιλίππῳ. ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, λέγε μοι  
 τό τε τοῦ Καλλισθένους ψήφισμα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστο-  
 λὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ταῦθ'  
 ἅπανθ' ὑμῖν ἔσται φανερά. λέγε.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ Μνησιφίλου ἄρχοντος, συγκλήτου ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ  
 στρατηγῶν καὶ πρυτάνεων [καὶ] βουλῆς γνώμη, μαιμακτηριῶνος  
 δεκάτῃ ἀπρίοντος, Καλλισθένης Ἑτεονίκου Φαληρεὺς εἶπε μη-  
 δένα Ἀθηναίων μηδεμιᾷ παρευρέσει ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κοιτάδιον γίγ-  
 νεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧσται καὶ Πειραιεῖ, ὅσοι μὴ ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις  
 εἰσὶν ἀποτεταγμένοι· τούτων δ' ἐκάστους ἦν παρέλαβον τάξιν  
 38 διατηρεῖν μήτε ἀφημερεύοντας μήτε ἀποκοιτοῦντας. ὃς δ' ἂν  
 ἀπειθήσῃ τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἔνοχος ἔστω τοῖς τῆς προδοσίας  
 ἐπιτιμίοις, ἐὰν μὴ τι ἀδύνατον ἐπιδεικνύῃ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ὄν· περὶ  
 δὲ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου ἐπικρινέτω ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ  
 ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς. κατακομίζει  
 δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα τὴν ταχίστην, τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς  
 σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν εἰς ἄστν καὶ Πειραιᾶ, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς  
 σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν εἰς Ἑλευσίνα καὶ Φυλὴν καὶ Ἀφιδνα  
 καὶ Ῥαμνοῦντα καὶ Σούνιον. εἶπε Καλλισθένης Φαληρεὺς.]

10 Ἄρ' ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιεῖ-  
 σθε, ἣ ταῦτ' ἐπηγγέλλεθ' ὑμῖν οὗτος ὁ μισθωτός;  
 39 Λέγε δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν δεῦρ' ἔπεμψε Φίλιπ-  
 πος μετὰ ταῦτα.



ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἵστε ἡμᾶς παρεληλυθότας εἶσω Πυλῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς πεποιημένους, καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐκουσίως προσετίθετο τῶν πολισμάτων, φρουρὰς εἰσαγοχότας, τὰ δὲ μὴ ὑπακούοντα κατὰ κράτος λαβόντες καὶ ἑξανδραποδισάμενοι κατεσκάψαμεν. ἀκούων δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς παρασκευάζεσθαι βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς γέγραφα ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ πλεον ἐνοχλήσθε περὶ τούτων. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὅλοις οὐδὲν μέτρίον μοι δοκεῖτε ποιεῖν, τὴν εἰρήνην συνθέμενοι καὶ ὁμοίως ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες, καὶ ταῦτα οὐδὲ συμπεριειλημμένων τῶν Φωκέων ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἡμῶν συνθήκαις. ὥστε ἐὰν μὴ ἐμμένητε τοῖς ὁμολογημένοις, οὐδὲν προτερήσετε ἔξω τοῦ ἐφθακέναι ἀδικοῦντες.]

Ἀκούετε ὡς σαφῶς δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται ἐν τῇ 40  
πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους,  
ὅτι “ἐγὼ ταῦτα πεποίηκα ἀκόντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ  
λυπουμένων, ὥστ’ εἶπερ εὖ φρονεῖτε, ὦ Θηβαῖοι  
καὶ Θετταλοὶ, τούτους μὲν ἐχθροὺς ὑπολήψεσθε, 5  
ἐμοὶ δὲ πιστεύσετε,” οὐ τούτοις τοῖς ῥήμασι γράψας,  
ταῦτα δὲ βουλόμενος δεικνύναι. τοιγαροῦν ἐκ  
τούτων ὥχεται ἐκείνους λαβὼν εἰς τὸ μὴδ’ ὅτιοῦν  
προορᾶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα μὴδ’ αἰσθάνεσθαι, ἀλλ’  
ἐᾶσαι πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἐκείνῳ ὑφ’ ἑαυτῷ ποιή- 10  
σασθαι. ἐξ ὧν ταῖς παρούσαις συμφοραῖς οἱ ταλαί-  
πωροι κέχρηται. ὁ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πίστεως αὐτῷ 41  
συνεργὸς καὶ συναγωνιστὴς καὶ ὁ δεῦρ’ ἀπαγγείλας  
τὰ ψευδῆ καὶ φενακίσας ὑμᾶς οὕτοσιν ὁ τὰ Θηβαίων  
ὀδυρόμενος νῦν πάθη καὶ διεξιὼν ὡς οἰκτρὰ, καὶ τού- 15  
των καὶ τῶν ἐν Φωκεύσι κακῶν καὶ ὅσ’ ἄλλα πεπόν-

θασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπάντων αὐτὸς ὢν αἴτιος. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι σὺ μὲν ἀλγεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐλεεῖς, κτήματ' ἔχων ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ γεωργῶν τὰ ἐκείνων, ἐγὼ δὲ  
 5 χαίρω, ὃς εὐθὺς ἐξητούμην ὑπὸ τοῦ ταῦτα πράξαντος.

42 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπέπτωκα εἰς λόγους, οὓς αὐτίκα μᾶλλον ἴσως ἀρμόσει λέγειν. ἐπάνειμι δὴ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις, ὥς τὰ τούτων ἀδικήματα τῶν  
 10 νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων γέγονεν αἴτια.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐξηπάτησθε μὲν ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ Φιλίππου διὰ τούτων τῶν ἐν ταῖς πρεσβείαις μισθωσάντων ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὑμῖν ἀπαγγειλάντων,  
 43 ἐξηπάτηντο δὲ οἱ ταλαίπωροι Φωκεῖς καὶ ἀνῆρηντο  
 15 αἱ πόλεις αὐτῶν, τὶ ἐγένετο; οἱ μὲν κατάπτυστοι Θετταλοὶ καὶ ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι φίλον, εὐεργέτην, σωτῆρα τὸν Φίλιππον ἡγοῦντο· πάντ' ἐκείνος ἦν αὐτοῖς· οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἤκουον, εἴ τις ἄλλο τι βούλοιτο λέγειν. ὑμεῖς δὲ ὑφορώμενοι τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ  
 20 δυσχεραίνοντες ἤγετε τὴν εἰρήνην ὅμως· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅ τι ἂν ἐποιεῖτε. καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Ἕλληνες, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν πεφenaκισμένοι καὶ διημαρτηκότες ὦν ἤλπισαν, ἦγον τὴν εἰρήνην ἄσμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἐκ  
 41 πολλοῦ πολεμοῦμενοι. ὅτε γὰρ περιῶν Φίλιππος  
 25 Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατεστρέφετο, καὶ δυνάμεις πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐποιεῖθ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ, καὶ τινες τῶν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων

ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐξουσίᾳ βαδίζοντες ἐκεῖσε διεφθεί-  
 ροντο, ὧν εἷς οὗτος ἦν, τότε πάντες, ἐφ' οὓς ταῦτα  
 παρεσκευάζετ' ἐκεῖνος, ἐπολεμοῦντο. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἡσθά-  
 νοντο, ἕτερος λόγος οὗτος, οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ. ἐγὼ μὲν 45  
 γὰρ προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν αἰεὶ 5  
 καὶ ὅποι πεμφθείην· αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἐνόσουν τῶν μὲν  
 ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πράττειν δωροδοκούντων καὶ  
 διαφθειρομένων ἐπὶ χρήμασι, τῶν δὲ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ  
 πολλῶν τὰ μὲν οὐ προορωμένων, τὰ δὲ τῇ καθ' ἡμέ-  
 ραν ῥαστώνῃ καὶ σχολῇ δελεαζομένων, καὶ τοιουτοῦ 10  
 τι πάθος πεπονηθότων ἀπάντων, πλὴν οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς  
 ἐκάστων οἰομένων τὸ δεινὸν ἥξειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν  
 ἐτέρων κινδύνων τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλῶς σχήσειν, ὅταν  
 βούλωνται. εἰτ' οἶμαι συμβέβηκε τοῖς μὲν πλήθε- 46  
 σιν ἀντὶ τῆς πολλῆς καὶ ἀκαίρου ῥαθυμίας τὴν ἐλευ- 15  
 θερίαν ἀπολωλεκέναι, τοῖς δὲ προεστηκόσι καὶ τᾶλλα  
 πλὴν ἑαυτοὺς οἰομένοις πωλεῖν πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς  
 πεπρακόσιν αἰσθέσθαι· ἀντὶ γὰρ φίλων καὶ ξένων, ἃ  
 τότε ὠνομάζοντο, ἡνίκα ἐδωροδόκουν, νῦν κόλακες καὶ  
 θεοῖς ἐχθροὶ καὶ τᾶλλ' ἃ προσήκει πάντ' ἀκούουσιν. 20  
 εἰκότως· οὐδεὶς γὰρ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ τοῦ 47  
 προδιδόντος συμφέρον ζητῶν χρήματ' ἀναλίσκει,  
 οὐδ' ἐπειδὰν ὧν ἂν πρίηται κύριος γένηται, τῷ  
 προδότῃ συμβούλῳ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτι χρήται·  
 οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἦν εὐδαιμονέστερον προδότου. ἀλλ' 25  
 οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλ'  
 ἐπειδὰν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατὴς ὁ ζητῶν ἄρχειν

καταστῇ, καὶ τῶν ταῦτα ἀποδομένων δεσπότης ἐστὶ, τὴν δὲ πονηρίαν εἰδὼς τότε δὴ, τότε καὶ μισεῖ καὶ  
 48 ἀπιστεῖ καὶ προπηλακίζει. σκοπεῖτε δέ. καὶ γὰρ εἰ παρελήλυθεν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων καιρὸς, ὁ τοῦ γε  
 5 εἰδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα καιρὸς αἰὲ πάρεστι τοῖς εὖ φρο-  
 νούσι. μέχρι τούτου Λασθένης φίλος ὠνομάζετο Φιλίππου, ἕως προὔδωκεν Ὀλυνθον· μέχρι τούτου Τιμόλαος, ἕως ἀπώλεσε Θῆβας· μέχρι τούτου Εὐ-  
 δικος καὶ Σίμος οἱ Λαρισαῖοι, ἕως Θετταλίαν ὑπὸ  
 10 Φιλίππῳ ἐποίησαν. εἴτ' ἐλαυνομένων καὶ ὑβριζο-  
 μένων καὶ τί κακὸν οὐχὶ πασχόντων πᾶσα ἡ οἰκου-  
 μένη μεστὴ γέγονε προδοτῶν. τί δ' Ἀρίστρατος  
 49 ἐν Σικυῶνι, καὶ τί Περίλαος ἐν Μεγάροις; οὐκ ἀπερριμμένοι; ἐξ ὧν καὶ σαφέστατ' ἄν τις ἴδοι ὅτι  
 15 ὁ μάλιστα φυλάττων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα καὶ πλεί-  
 στα ἀντιλέγων τούτοις, οὗτος ὑμῖν, Αἰσχίνη, τοῖς  
 προδιδούσι καὶ μισθαρνοῦσι τὸ ἔχειν ἐφ' ὅτῳ δωρο-  
 δοκήσετε περιποιεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τουτωνὶ  
 καὶ τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους τοῖς ὑμετέροις βουλήμασιν  
 20 ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ σφὶ καὶ ἔμμισθοι, ἐπεὶ διὰ γε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς  
 πάλαι ἂν ἀπολώλειτε.

50 Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν τότε πραχθέντων ἔχων ἔτι  
 πολλὰ λέγειν, καὶ ταῦτα ἡγοῦμαι πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν  
 εἰρήσθαι. αἴτιος δ' οὗτος, ὥσπερ ἐωλοκρασίαν τινά  
 25 μου τῆς πονηρίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων  
 κατασκεδάσας, ἣν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν πρὸς τοὺς νεωτέρους  
 τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολύσασθαι. παρηνώχλησθε

δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴσως, οἱ καὶ πρὶν ἐμὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτι οὖν  
 εἰδότες τὴν τούτου τότε μισθαρνίαν. καίτοι φιλίαν 51  
 γε καὶ ξενίαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζει, καὶ νῦν εἶπέ που λέ-  
 γων “ὁ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ξενίαν ὀνειδίζων ἐμοί.”  
 ἐγὼ σοι ξενίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου; πόθεν λαβόντι ἢ πῶς 5  
 ἀξιωθέντι; οὔτε Φιλίππου ξένον οὔτ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου φί-  
 λον εἵποίμ’ ἂν ἐγὼ σε, οὐχ οὕτω μαίνομαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ  
 τοὺς θεριστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλο τι μισθοῦ πράττοντας  
 φίλους καὶ ξένους δεῖ καλεῖν τῶν μισθωσαμένων. ἀλλ’ 52  
 οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλὰ μι- 10  
 σθωτὸν ἐγὼ σε Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ νῦν Ἀλεξάν-  
 δρου καλῶ, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες. εἰ δ’ ἀπιστεῖς, ἐρώτησον  
 αὐτοὺς, μᾶλλον δ’ ἐγὼ τοῦθ’ ὑπὲρ σοῦ ποιήσω. πότε-  
 ρον ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δοκεῖ μισθωτὸς Αἰσχίνης  
 ἢ ξένος εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρου; ἀκούεις ἂ λέγουσιν. 15

Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῆς γραφῆς αὐτῆς 53  
 ἀπολογήσασθαι καὶ διεξελθεῖν τὰ πεπραγμέν’ ἐμαυ-  
 τῷ, ἵνα καίπερ εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης ὅμως ἀκούσῃ δι’ ἧς  
 φημι καὶ τούτων τῶν προβεβουλευμένων καὶ πολλῶ  
 μειζόνων ἔτι τούτων δωρεῶν δίκαιος εἶναι τυγχάνειν. 20  
 καὶ μοι λέγε τὴν γραφὴν αὐτὴν λαβών.

#### ΓΡΑΦΗ.

[Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος, ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἕκτη ἰσταμένου, 54  
 Αἰσχίνης Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδης ἀπήνεγκε πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα  
 παρανόμων κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος τοῦ Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλυστίου,  
 ὅτι ἔγραψε παράνομον ψήφισμα, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ στεφανῶσαι Δη-  
 μοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανίᾳ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγο-

ρεῦσαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις, τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς, ὅτι στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα, καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας, καὶ διότι διατελεῖ πράττων καὶ λέγων τὰ βέλτιστα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ πρόθυμός ἐστι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθὸν, πάντα ταῦτα ψευδῇ γράψας καὶ παράνομα, τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἐόντων πρῶτον μὲν ψευδεῖς γραφὰς εἰς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα καταβάλλεσθαι, εἴτα τὸν ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῦν (ἔστι δὲ Δημοσθένης τειχοποιὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ τεταγμένος), ἔτι δὲ μὴ ἀναγορεύειν τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδῶν τῇ καινῇ, ἀλλ' ἔαν μὲν ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀναιπεῖν, ἔαν δὲ ἡ πόλις, ἐν πυκνῇ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. τίμημα τάλαντα πεντήκοντα. κλητῆρες Κηφισοφῶν Κηφισοφῶντος Ῥαμνούσιος, Κλέων Κλέωνος Κοθωκίδης.]

56 Ἄ μὲν διώκει τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ἐγὼ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν τούτων πρῶτον οἶμαι δῆλον ὑμῖν ποιήσειν ὅτι πάντα δικαίως ἀπολογήσομαι· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν τούτῳ ποιησάμενος  
5 τῶν γεγραμμένων τάξιν περὶ πάντων ἐρῶ καθ'  
57 ἕκαστον ἐφεξῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἐκὼν παραλείψω. τοῦ μὲν οὖν γράψαι πράττοντα καὶ λέγοντα τὰ βέλτιστά με τῷ δήμῳ διατελεῖν καὶ πρόθυμον εἶναι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν δύνωμαι ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ  
10 τούτοις, ἐν τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι νομίζω· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων εὐρεθήσεται εἴτε ἀληθῇ περὶ ἐμοῦ γέγραφε Κτησιφῶν ταῦτα καὶ  
58 προσήκοντα εἴτε καὶ ψευδῇ· τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα “ἐπειδὴν τὰς εὐθύνας δῶ” στεφανοῦν, καὶ

ἀνειπεῖν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸν στέφανον κελεύσαι, κοι-  
νωνεῖν μὲν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις,  
εἴτε ἄξιός εἰμι τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναρρήσεως τῆς  
ἐν τούτοις εἴτε καὶ μὴ, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοὺς νόμους  
δεικτέον εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ, καθ' οὓς ταῦτα γράφειν 5  
ἐξῆν τούτῳ. οὕτωςι μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δι-  
καίως καὶ ἀπλῶς τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἔγνωκα ποιεῖσθαι,  
βαδιοῦμαι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἃ πέπρακταί μοι. καί με 59  
μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ ἀπαρτᾶν τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς, εἰ  
εἰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις καὶ λόγους ἐμπέσω· ὁ γὰρ 10  
διώκων τοῦ ψηφίσματος τὸ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ  
ἄριστα με καὶ γεγραμμένος ταῦτα ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ,  
οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοὺς περὶ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολι-  
τευμένων λόγους οἰκείους καὶ ἀναγκαίους τῇ γραφῇ  
πεποιηκώς. εἴτα καὶ πολλῶν προαιρέσεων οὐσῶν 15  
τῆς πολιτείας τὴν περὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις  
εἰλόμην ἐγὼ, ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐκ τούτων  
δίκαιός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι.

Ἄ μὲν οὖν πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν 60  
ἐμὲ προὔλαβε καὶ κατέσχε Φίλιππος, εἰσώ· οὐδὲν 20  
γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τούτων εἶναι πρὸς ἐμέ· ἃ δ' ἀφ' ἧς  
ἡμέρας ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐπέστην ἐγὼ διεκωλίθην, ταῦτα  
ἀναμνήσω καὶ τούτων ὑφέξω λόγον, τοσοῦτον ὑπει-  
πών. πλεονέκτημα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μίγα 61  
ὑπῆρξε Φιλίππῳ. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οὐ 25  
τισὶν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως, φορὰν προδοτῶν καὶ  
δωροδόκων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν ἀνθρώπων συνέβη



γενέσθαι τοσαύτην ὄσσην οὐδεὶς πῶ πρότερον μέμνη-  
ται γεγονυῖαν· οὓς συναγωνιστὰς καὶ συνεργοὺς  
λαβὼν καὶ πρότερον κακῶς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔχοντας  
πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔτι χεῖρον διέθηκε,  
5 τοὺς μὲν ἐξαπατῶν, τοῖς δὲ διδοὺς, τοὺς δὲ πάντα  
τρόπον διαφθείρων, καὶ διέστησεν εἰς μέρη πολλὰ  
ἐνὸς τοῦ συμφέροντος ἅπασιν ὄντος, κωλύειν ἐκείνον  
62 μέγαν γίνεσθαι. ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ καταστάσει καὶ ἔτι  
ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ συνισταμένου καὶ φυομένου κακοῦ τῶν  
10 ἀπάντων Ἑλλήνων ὄντων δεῖ σκοπεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὧ ἄν-  
δρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τί προσῆκον ἦν ἐλέσθαι πράττειν καὶ  
ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τούτων λόγον παρ' ἐμοῦ λα-  
βεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἑαυτὸν τάξας τῆς πολιτείας  
63 εἰμὶ ἐγώ. πότερον αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν, Αἰσχίνῃ, τὸ φρό-  
15 νημα ἀφείσαν καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ Θετ-  
ταλῶν καὶ Δολόπων τάξει συγκατακτᾶσθαι Φιλίππῳ  
τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων  
καλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἀναιρεῖν; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν μὴ ποιεῖν,  
δεινὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἃ δ' ἑώρα συμβησόμενα, εἰ  
20 μηδεὶς κωλύσει, καὶ προησθάνεθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκ  
64 πολλοῦ, ταῦτα περιδεῖν γιγνόμενα; ἀλλὰ νῦν  
ἔγωγε τὸν μάλιστα ἐπιτιμῶντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις  
ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην, τῆς ποίας μερίδος γενέσθαι τὴν  
πόλιν ἐβούλετ' ἂν, πότερον τῆς συναιτίας τῶν συμ-  
25 βεβηκότων τοῖς Ἕλλησι κακῶν καὶ αἰσχυρῶν, ἧς ἂν  
Θετταλοὺς καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτων εἴποι τις, ἢ τῆς  
περιορακύνίας ταῦτα γιγνόμενα ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἰδίας

πλεονεξίας ἐλπίδι, ἧς ἂν Ἀρκάδας καὶ Μεσσηνίους  
καὶ Ἀργεῖους θείημεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων πολλοὶ, 65  
μᾶλλον δὲ πάντες, χεῖρον ἡμῶν ἀπηλλάχασιν. καὶ  
γὰρ εἰ μὲν ὥς ἐκράτησε Φίλιππος ὥχετ' εὐθέως  
ἀπιὼν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἦγεν ἡσυχίαν, μήτε τῶν αὐτοῦ 5  
συμμάχων μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μηδένα μηδὲν  
λυπήσας, ἦν ἂν τις κατὰ τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων οἷς  
ἔπραττεν ἐκείνος μέμψις καὶ κατηγορία· εἰ δὲ  
ὁμοίως ἀπάντων τὸ ἀξίωμα, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὴν  
ἐλευθερίαν περιείλετο, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας, 10  
ὅσων ἐδύνατο, πῶς οὐχ ἀπάντων ἐνδοξότατα ὑμεῖς  
ἐβουλευσασθε ἐμοὶ πεισθέντες;

Ἄλλ' ἐκείσε ἐπανέρχομαι. τί τὴν πόλιν, Αἰσχί- 66  
νη, προσῆκε ποιεῖν ἀρχὴν καὶ τυραννίδα τῶν Ἑλλή-  
νων ὁρῶσαν ἑαυτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον Φίλιππον; 15  
ἢ τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἔδει λέγειν ἢ γράφειν τὸν  
Ἀθήνησιν ἐμὲ (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο πλείστον διαφέρει),  
ὃς συνῆδεν μὲν ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι τῆς  
ἡμέρας ἀφ' ἧς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀνέβην, αἰὲν περὶ  
πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ἀγωνιζομένην τὴν 20  
πατρίδα, καὶ πλείω καὶ χρήματα καὶ σώματα ἀνη-  
λωκυῖαν ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόν-  
των ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνηλώκασιν  
ἕκαστοι, ἑώρων δ' αὐτὸν τὸν Φίλιππον, πρὸς ὃν ἦν 67  
ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν, ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας τὸν ὀφθαλ- 25  
μὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, τὴν κλεῖν κατεαγότα, τὴν χεῖρα,  
τὸ σκέλος πεπηρωμένον, πᾶν ὃ τι βουλευθείη μέρος

ἡ τύχη τοῦ σώματος παρέλῃσθαι, τοῦτο προϊέμενον,  
 68 ὥστε τῷ λοιπῷ μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ζῆν· καὶ μὴν  
 οὐδὲ τοῦτό γε οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν τολμήσῃ, ὥς τῷ μὲν  
 ἐν Πέλλῃ τραφέντι, χωρίῳ ἀδόξῳ τότε γε ὄντι καὶ  
 5 μικρῷ, τοσαύτην μεγαλοψυχίαν προσῆκεν ἐγγενέσθαι  
 ὥστε τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμήσῃ καὶ τοῦτ'  
 εἰς τὸν νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι, ὑμῖν δ' οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις  
 καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐν πᾶσι καὶ λόγοις  
 καὶ θεωρήμασι τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς ὑπομνήμαθ'  
 10 ὁρῶσι τοσαύτην κακίαν ὑπάρχειν ὥστε τῆς τῶν Ἑλ-  
 λήνων ἐλευθερίας αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἐθελοντὰς παρα-  
 69 χωρήσῃ Φιλίππῳ. οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ταῦτα φήσειεν.  
 λοιπὸν τοίνυν ἦν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἅμα πᾶσιν οἷς ἐκεί-  
 νος ἔπραττεν ἀδικῶν ὑμᾶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι δικαίως.  
 15 τοῦτ' ἐποιεῖτε μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰκότως καὶ προση-  
 κόντως, ἔγραφον δὲ καὶ συνεβούλευον καὶ ἐγὼ καθ'  
 οὓς ἐπολιτευόμην χρόνους. ὁμολογῶ. ἀλλὰ τί  
 ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; ἤδη γάρ σ' ἐρωτῶ, πάντα τᾶλλ'  
 ἀφείς, Ἀμφίπολιν, Πύδναν, Ποτίδαιαν, Ἀλόνησον·  
 70 οὐδενὸς τούτων μέμνημαι. Σέρρειον δὲ καὶ Δορίσκον  
 21 καὶ τὴν Πεπαρήθου πόρθησιν καὶ ὅσ' ἄλλα τοιαῦτα  
 ἢ πόλεις ἠδίκητο, οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν οἶδα. καίτοι σύ  
 γ' ἔφησθά με ταῦτα λέγοντα εἰς ἔχθραν ἐμβαλεῖν  
 τουτουσὶ, Εὐβούλου καὶ Ἀριστοφῶντος καὶ Διοπεί-  
 25 θους τῶν περὶ τούτων ψηφισμάτων ὄντων, οὐκ ἐμῶν,  
 71 ὧ λέγων εὐχερῶς ὅ τι ἂν βουλευθῆς. οὐδὲ νῦν περὶ  
 τούτων ἐρῶ. ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν Εὐβοίαν ἐκείνος σφετε-

ριζόμενος καὶ κατασκευάζων ἐπιτείχισμα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ Μεγάροις ἐπιχειρῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνων Ὠρεὸν, καὶ κατασκάπτων Πορθμῶν, καὶ καθιστὰς ἐν μὲν Ὠρεῷ Φιλιστίδην τύραννον, ἐν δ' Ἐρετρίᾳ Κλείταρχον, καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ 5 ποιοῦμενος, καὶ Βυζάντιον πολιορκῶν, καὶ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἃς μὲν ἀναιρῶν, εἰς ἃς δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας κατὰγων, πότερον ταῦτα πάντα ποιῶν ἡδίκηει καὶ παρεσπύνδει καὶ ἔλυε τὴν εἰρήνην ἢ οὐ; καὶ πότερον φανῆναί τινα τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν ταῦτα κωλύσονται 10 ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν ἢ μή; εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἐχρῆν, ἀλλὰ 72 τὴν Μυσῶν λείαν καλουμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὖσαν ὀφθῆναι ζώντων καὶ ὄντων Ἀθηναίων, περιείργασμαι μὲν ἐγὼ περὶ τούτων εἰπὼν, περιείργασται δ' ἡ πόλις πεισθεῖσα ἐμοὶ, ἔστω δὲ ἀδικήματα πάντα ἃ πέπρακ- 15 ται καὶ ἀμαρτήματα ἐμά. εἰ δὲ ἔδει τινὰ τούτων κωλυτὴν φανῆναι, τίνα ἄλλον ἢ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον προσῆκε γενέσθαι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐπολιτευόμην ἐγὼ, καὶ ὁρῶν καταδουλούμενον πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνον ἡναντιούμην, καὶ προλέγων καὶ διδάσκων μὴ 20 προῖεσθαι ταῦτα Φιλίππῳ διετέλουν.

Καὶ μὲν τὴν εἰρήνην γ' ἐκεῖνος ἔλυσε τὰ πλοῖα 73 λαβὼν, οὐχ ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνη. Φέρε δ' αὐτὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ λέγε ἐφεξῆς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων τίς 25 τίνος αἰτιὸς ἐστὶ γενήσεται φανερόν.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Νεοκλέους, μηνὸς βοηδρομιῶνος, ἐκκλησίας συγκλήτου ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν, Εὐβουλος Μνησιθέου Κόπρειος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ προσήγγειλαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὥς ἄρα Λεωδάμαντα τὸν ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀποσταλέντα σκάφη εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σίτου παραπομπὴν εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον ὁ παρὰ Φιλίππου στρατηγὸς Ἀμύντας καταγέροχεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχει, ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ὅπως ἡ βουλὴ συναχθῇ καὶ αἰρεθῶσι πρέσβεις πρὸς Φίλιππον, 74 οὔτινες παραγενόμενοι διαλέξονται πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀφεθῆναι τὸν ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ πλοῖα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας. καὶ εἰ μὲν δι' ἄγνοιαν ταῦτα πεποίηκεν ὁ Ἀμύντας, ὅτι οὐ μεμψιμοιρεῖ ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲν αὐτῷ· εἰ δέ τι πλημμελοῦντα παρὰ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα λαβὼν, ὅτι ἐπισκεψάμενοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιτιμῆσουσι κατὰ τὴν τῆς ὀλιγορίας ἀξίαν. εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων ἐστὶν, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ἀγνωμονοῦσιν ἢ ὁ ἀποστείλας ἢ ὁ ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ τοῦτο λέγειν, ἵνα αἰσθανόμενος ὁ δῆμος βουλευῆται τί δεῖ ποιεῖν.]

75 Τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν τὸ ψήφισμα Εὐβουλος ἔγραψεν, οὐκ ἐγὼ, τὸ δ' ἐφεξῆς Ἀριστοφῶν, εἰθ' Ἠγήσιππος, εἴτ' Ἀριστοφῶν πάλιν, εἴτα Φιλοκράτης, εἴτα Κηφισοφῶν, εἴτα πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν περὶ 5 τούτων. λέγει.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ Νεοκλέους ἄρχοντος, βοηδρομιῶνος ἔτη καὶ νέα, βουλῆς γνώμη, πρυτάνεις καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἐχρημάτισαν τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνενεγκόντες, ὅτι ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ, πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῶν πλοίων ἀνακομιδῆς καὶ ἐντολὰς δοῦναι κατὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ψηφίσματα. καὶ εἶλοντο τούσδε, Κηφισοφῶντα Κλέωνος Ἀναφλύστιον, Δημόκριτον

Δημοφώντας Ἀναγυράσιον, Πολύκριτον Ἀπημάντου Κοθωκίδην.  
πρυτανείᾳ φυλῆς Ἱπποθωντίδος Ἀριστοφῶν Κολλυτεύς πρόε-  
δρος εἶπεν.]

Ὡςπερ τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα δεικνύω τὰ ψηφίσματα, 76  
οὕτω καὶ σὺ δεῖξον, Αἰσχίνη, ποῖον ἐγὼ γράψας  
ψηφίσμα αἰτίας εἶμι τοῦ πολέμου. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν  
ἔχοις· εἰ γὰρ εἶχες, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῦ πρότερον νυνὶ  
παρέσχου. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ Φίλιππος οὐδὲν αἰτιάται 5  
ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου, ἑτέροις ἐγκαλῶν. Λέγε δ'  
αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου.

#### ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ 77  
δήμῳ χαίρειν. παραγενόμενοι πρὸς ἐμὲ οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσ-  
βευταί, Κηφισοφῶν καὶ Δημόκριτος καὶ Πολύκριτος, διελέ-  
γοντο περὶ τῆς τῶν πλούτων ἀφέσεως ὧν ἐναυάρχει Λεωδάμας.  
καθ' ὅλου μὲν οὖν ἔμοιγε φαίνεσθε ἐν μεγάλῃ εὐηθείᾳ ἔσεσθαι,  
εἰ οἴεσθ' ἐμὲ λανθάνειν ὅτι ἐξαπεστάλη ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα πρό-  
φασιν μὲν ὡς τὸν σίτον παραπέμποντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου  
εἰς Λῆμνον, βοηθήσοντα δὲ Σηλυμβριανοῖς τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μὲν  
πολιορκουμένοις, οὐ συμπεριειλημμένοις δὲ ἐν ταῖς τῆς φιλίας  
κοινῇ κειμέναις ἡμῖν συνθήκαις. καὶ ταῦτα συνετάχθη τῷ 78  
ναυάρχῳ ἄνευ μὲν τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὸ δέ τινων  
ἀρχόντων καὶ ἑτέρων ἰδιωτῶν μὲν νῦν ὄντων, ἐκ παντὸς δὲ τρό-  
που βουλομένων τὸν δῆμον ἀντὶ τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς ἐμὲ  
φιλίας τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλαβεῖν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον φιλοτιμουμένων  
τοῦτο συντελεσθαι ἢ τοῖς Σηλυμβριανοῖς βοηθῆσαι. καὶ ὑπο-  
λαμβάνουσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ τοιοῦτο πρόσδοτον ἔσεσθαι· οὐ μίντοι  
μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο χρήσιμον ὑπάρχειν οὔθ' ὑμῖν οὔτ' ἐμοί. διόπερ  
τά τε νῦν καταχθέντα πλοῖα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφήμι ὑμῖν, καὶ τοῦ  
λοιποῦ, εἰ βούλησθε μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς προεστηκόσιν ὑμῶν

κακοήθως πολιτεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιτιμᾶτε, πειράσομαι καὶ γὰρ διαφυλάττειν τὴν εἰρήνην. εὐτυχεῖτε.]

- 79 Ἐνταῦθ' οὐδαμοῦ Δημοσθένην γέγραφεν, οὐδ' αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ. τί ποτ' οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγκαλῶν τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων οὐχὶ μέμνηται; ὅτι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἂν ἐμέμνητο τῶν αὐτοῦ, εἴ τι περὶ  
5 ἐμοῦ ἐγεγράφει· τούτων γὰρ εἰχόμην ἐγὼ καὶ τούτοις ἡναντιούμην. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον πρεσβείαν ἔγραψα, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκεῖνος εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο, εἶτα τὴν εἰς Εὐβοίαν, ἥνικ' Εὐβοίας ἦπτετο, εἶτα τὴν ἐπ' Ὠρεὸν ἔξοδον,  
10 οὐκέτι πρεσβείαν, καὶ τὴν εἰς Ἐρέτριαν, ἐπειδὴ τυράννους ἐκεῖνος ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι κατέστησεν.
- 80 μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἅπαντας ἀπέστειλα, καθ' οὓς Χερρόνησος ἐσώθη καὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι. ἐξ ὧν ὑμῖν μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα,  
15 ἔπαινοι, δόξαι, τιμαὶ, στέφανοι, χάριτες παρὰ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων ὑπήρχον· τῶν δ' ἀδικουμένων τοῖς μὲν ὑμῖν τότε πεισθεῖσιν ἢ σωτηρία περιεγέμετο, τοῖς δ' ὀλιγωρήσασι τὸ πολλάκις ὧν ὑμεῖς προείπατε μεμνήσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν ὑμᾶς μὴ μόνον εὔνους ἑαυ-  
20 τοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονίμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάντις εἶναι·
- 81 πάντα γὰρ ἐκβέβηκεν ἅ προείπατε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματα ἔδωκε Φιλιστίδης ὥστ' ἔχειν Ὠρεὸν, πολλὰ δὲ Κλείταρχος ὥστ' ἔχειν Ἐρέτριαν, πολλὰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Φίλιππος ὥστε ταῦθ' ὑπάρχειν  
25 ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων μηδὲν ἐξελέγχε-



σθαι μηδ' ἂ ποιῶν ἡδίκηει μηδένα ἐξετάζειν πανταχοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ, καὶ πάντων ἡκιστα σύ· οἱ γὰρ παρὰ 82 τοῦ Κλειτάρχου καὶ τοῦ Φιλιστίδου τότε πρέσβεις δεῦρ' ἀφικνούμενοι παρὰ σοὶ κατέλουν, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ 5 σὺ προὔξενεις αὐτῶν· οὗς ἡ μὲν πόλις ὡς ἐχθροὺς καὶ οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε συμφέροντα λέγοντας ἀπήλασε, σοὶ δ' ἦσαν φίλοι. οὐ τοίνυν ἐπράχθη τούτων οὐδέν, ὧ βλασφημῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγων ὡς σιωπῶ μὲν λαβὼν, βοῶ δ' ἀναλώσας. ἀλλ' οὐ σύ γε, 10 ἀλλὰ βοᾷς μὲν ἔχων, παύσει δὲ οὐδέποτ', εἰ μὴ σε οὔτοι παύσωσιν ἀτιμώσαντες τήμερον. στεφα- 83 νωσάντων τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἐμὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις τότε, καὶ γράψαντος Ἀριστονίκου τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς ὥσπερ οὗτοσὶ Κτησιφῶν νῦν γέγραφε, καὶ ἀναρρη- 15 θέντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῦ στεφάνου, καὶ δευτέρου κηρύγματος ἡδη μοι τούτου γιγνομένου, οὗτ' ἀντίπεν Αἰσχίνης παρὼν οὔτε τὸν εἰπόντα ἐγράψατο. Καί μοι λέγε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα λαβὼν.

#### ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου Ἡγήμονος ἄρχοντος, γαμηλιῶνος ἔκτη ἀπι- 84 όντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Λεοντίδος, Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν συμμάχων καὶ πρότερον, καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ βεβοήθηκε διὰ τῶν ψηφισμάτων, καὶ τινες τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεων ἠλευθέρωκε, καὶ διατελεῖ εὖνους ὧν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει ὃ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθὸν ὑπὲρ τε αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ

τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις, τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς, τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὴν πρυτανεύουσαν φυλὴν καὶ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην. εἶπεν Ἀριστόνικος ὁ Φρεάρριος.]

85 Ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις ὑμῶν οἶδέ τινα αἰσχύνῃ τῇ πόλει συμβᾶσαν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἢ χλευασμὸν ἢ γέλωτα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος ἔφη συμβήσεσθαι, ἂν ἐγὼ στεφανῶμαι; καὶ μὴν ὅταν ἦ νέα καὶ γνώριμα  
5 πᾶσι τὰ πράγματα, εἴαν τε καλῶς ἔχῃ, χάριτος τυγχάνει, εἴαν θ' ὡς ἐτέρως, τιμωρίας. φαίνομαι τοῖνυν ἐγὼ χάριτος τετυχηκὼς τότε, καὶ οὐ μέμψεως οὐδὲ τιμωρίας.

86 Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς  
10 ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, πάντας ἀνωμολόγηται τοὺς χρόνους τὰ ἄριστα πράττειν τῇ πόλει, τῷ νικᾶν, ὅτ' ἐβουλεύεσθε, λέγων καὶ γράφων, τῷ καταπραχθῆναι τὰ γραφέντα, καὶ στεφάνους ἐξ αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν γενέσθαι, τῷ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσ-  
15 ὁδους ὡς ἀγαθῶν τούτων ὄντων ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι.

87 Ἐπειδὴ τοῖνυν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁ Φίλιππος ἐξηλάθη, τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις ὑφ' ὑμῶν, τῇ δὲ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι, καὶ διαρραγώσί τινες τούτων, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἕτερον κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτειχισμὸν ἐξήτει.  
20 ὁρῶν δ' ὅτι σίτῳ πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλείστῳ χρώμεθ' ἐπεισάκτῳ, βουλόμενος τῆς σιτοπομπίας κύριος γενέσθαι, παρελθὼν ἐπὶ Θράκης Βυζαντίους συμμά-

χοὺς ὄντας αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡξίου συμπολεμεῖν  
τὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς πόλεμον, ὥς δ' οὐκ ἤθελον οὐδ' ἐπὶ  
τούτοις ἔφασαν τὴν συμμαχίαν πεποιῆσθαι, λέγον-  
τες ἀληθῆ, χάρακα βαλλόμενος πρὸς τῇ πόλει καὶ  
μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας ἐπολιόρκει. τούτων δὲ γιγνο- 88  
μένων ὅ τι μὲν προσῆκε ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, οὐκέτ' ἐρωτήσω· 6  
δῆλον γάρ ἐστιν ἅπασιν. ἀλλὰ τίς ἦν ὁ βοηθήσας  
τοῖς Βυζαντίοις καὶ σώσας αὐτούς; τίς ὁ κωλύ-  
σας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι κατ' ἐκείνους  
τοὺς χρόνους; ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. τὸ δ' 10  
ὑμεῖς ὅταν λέγω, τὴν πόλιν λέγω. τίς δ' ὁ τῇ πόλει  
λέγων καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων καὶ ἀπλῶς ἑαυτὸν εἰς  
τὰ πράγματα ἀφειδῶς διδούς; ἐγώ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡλίκα 89  
ταῦτα ὠφέλησεν ἅπαντας, οὐκέτ' ἐκ τοῦ λόγου δεῖ  
μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ πεπεύρασθε· ὁ γὰρ τότε ἐνστάς 15  
πόλεμος ἄνευ τοῦ καλὴν δόξαν ἐνεγκεῖν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς  
κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀφθονωτέροις καὶ εὐωνοτέροις διῆγεν  
ὑμᾶς τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης, ἣν οὗτοι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος  
τηροῦσιν οἱ χρηστοὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις ἐλπίσιν,  
ὧν διαμάρτοιν, καὶ μετάσχοιν ὧν ὑμεῖς οἱ τὰ βέλ- 20  
τιστα βουλόμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτεῖτε, μὴ μεταδοῖεν  
ὑμῖν ὧν αὐτοὶ προήρηνται. Λέγε' δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς  
τῶν Βυζαντίων στεφάνους καὶ τοὺς τῶν Περινθίων,  
οἷς ἐστεφάνουν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ.

[Ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος Βοσπορίχῳ Δαμάγητος ἐν τῇ ἀλίᾳ ἔλεξεν, 90  
ἐκ τᾶς βωλᾶς λαβὼν ράτραν, ἐπειδὴ ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἐν τε

τοῖς προγεγεναμένοις καιροῖς εὐνοέων διατελέει Βυζαντίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ συγγενέσι Περινθίοις καὶ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται, ἔν τε τῷ παρεστακότι καιρῷ Φιλίππῳ τῷ Μακεδόνος ἐπιστρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰν πόλιν ἐπ' ἀναστάσει Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων καὶ τὰν χώραν δαίοντος καὶ δεινδροκοπέοντος, βοηθήσας πλοίοις ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ σίτῃ καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὀπλίταις ἐξείλετο ἅμὲ ἐκ τῶν μεγάλων κινδύνων καὶ ἀποκατέστασε τὰν πατρίον πολιτείαν καὶ τὼς νόμους

91 καὶ τὼς τάφους, δεδόχθαι τῷ δάμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων Ἀθηναίοις δόμεν ἐπιγαμίαν, πολιτείαν, ἔγκτασιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκίαν, προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, πύθοδον ποτὶ τὰν βωλὰν καὶ τὸν δᾶμον πράτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά, καὶ τοῖς κατοικέειν ἐθέλουσι τὰν πόλιν ἀλειουργήτοις ἡμεν πασᾶν τὰν λειτουργιᾶν· στᾶσαι δὲ καὶ εἰκόνας τρεῖς ἑκκαίδεκαπάχεις ἐν τῷ Βοσπορείῳ, στεφανούμενον τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ὑπὸ τῷ δάμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων· ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ καὶ θεωρίας ἐς τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι παναγύριαις, Ἰσθμια καὶ Νέμεαι καὶ Ὀλύμπια καὶ Πύθια, καὶ ἀνακαρῦξαι τὼς στεφάνους οἷς ἐστεφάνωνται ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐπιστέωνται οἱ Ἕλληνας τάν τε Ἀθηναίων ἀρετὰν καὶ τὰν Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων εὐχαριστίαν.]

92 Λέγε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ στεφάνους.

#### ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΧΕΡΡΟΝΗΣΙΤΩΝ.

[Χερρονησιτῶν οἱ κατοικοῦντες Σηστὸν, Ἐλεοῦντα, Μάδυντον, Ἀλωπεκόννησον, στεφανοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἐξήκοντα, καὶ χάριτος βωμὸν ἰδρύονται καὶ δῆμον Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πάντων μεγίστου ἀγαθῶν παραίτιος γέγονε Χερρονησίταις, ἐξελόμενος ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου καὶ ἀποδοὺς τὰς πατρίδας, τοὺς νόμους, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὰ ἱερά. καὶ ἐν τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα αἰῶνι παντὶ οὐκ ἔλλείψει εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ποιῶν ὃ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν. ταῦτα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐν τῷ κοινῷ βουλευτηρίῳ.]

Οὐκοῦν οὐ μόνον τὸ Χερρόνησον καὶ Βυζάντιον 93  
 σῶσαι, οὐδὲ τὸ κωλύσαι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ  
 Φιλίππῳ γενέσθαι τότε, οὐδὲ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τὴν πό-  
 λιν ἐκ τούτων ἢ προαίρεσις ἢ ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ πολιτεία  
 διεπράξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδειξεν ἀνθρώποις τὴν 5  
 τε τῆς πόλεως καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ τὴν Φιλίππου  
 κακίαν. ὁ μὲν γε φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος ὢν τοῖς Βυ-  
 ζαντίοις πολιορκῶν αὐτοὺς ἐωρᾶτο ὑπὸ πάντων, οὐ  
 τί γένοιτ' ἂν αἰσχίον ἢ μιαιώτερον; ὑμεῖς δ' οἱ καὶ 94  
 μεμφάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἂν ἐκείνοις εἰκότως 10  
 περὶ ὧν ἠγνωμονήκεσαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν  
 χρόνοις, οὐ μόνον οὐ μνησικακοῦντες οὐδὲ προϊέμενοι  
 τοὺς ἀδικουμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ σώζοντες ἐφαίνεσθε, ἐξ  
 ὧν δόξαν, εὖνοιαν, τιμὴν παρὰ πάντων ἐκτᾶσθε.  
 καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν πολλοὺς ἐστεφανώκατ' ἤδη τῶν 15  
 πολιτευομένων ἅπαντες ἴσασι. δι' ὅντινα δ' ἄλλον  
 ἢ πόλιν ἐστεφάνωται, σύμβουλον λέγω καὶ ῥήτορα,  
 πλὴν δι' ἐμὲ, οὐδ' ἂν εἰς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι.

Ἴνα τοίνυν καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας ἃς κατὰ τῶν 95  
 Εὐβοέων καὶ τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐποιήσατο, εἴ τι δυσχε- 20  
 ρὲς αὐτοῖς ἐπέπρακτο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομιμνήσκων,  
 συκοφαντίας οὕσας ἐπιδείξω μὴ μόνον τῷ ψευδεῖς  
 εἶναι (τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς εἰδότες ἠγοῦ-  
 μαι), ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ, εἰ τὰ μάλιστ' ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς,  
 οὕτως ὥς ἐγὼ κέχρημαι τοῖς πράγμασι συμφέρειν 25  
 χρήσασθαι, ἐν ἧ δύο βούλομαι τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς πε-  
 πραγμένων καλῶν τῇ πόλει διεξελθεῖν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν

βραχέσι· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἰδίᾳ καὶ πόλιν κοινῇ πρὸς  
 τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀεὶ δεῖ πειράσθαι τὰ  
 96 λοιπὰ πράττειν. ὑμεῖς τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 Λακεδαιμονίων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀρχόντων καὶ τὰ  
 5 κύκλῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κατεχόντων ἀρμοσταῖς καὶ  
 φρουραῖς, Εὐβοίαν, Τάναγραν, καὶ Βοιωτίαν ἅπα-  
 σαν, Μέγαρα, Αἴγινα, Κλεωνὰς, τὰς ἄλλας νήσους,  
 οὔτε ναῦς οὔτε τείχη τῆς πόλεως τότε κτησαμένης,  
 ἐξήλθετε εἰς Ἀλιάρτον καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέ-  
 10 ραις ὕστερον εἰς Κόρινθον, τῶν τότε Ἀθηναίων  
 πόλλ' ἂν ἐχόντων μνησικακῆσαι καὶ Κορινθίοις καὶ  
 Θηβαίοις τῶν περὶ τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον πραχθέν-  
 97 των· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐποιοῦν τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. καίτοι  
 τότε ταῦτα ἀμφοτέρα, Αἰσχίνη, οὐθ' ὑπὲρ εὐεργετῶν  
 15 ἐποιοῦν οὔτ' ἀκίνδυνα ἐώρων. ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦτα  
 προῖεντο τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς, ἀλλ'  
 ὑπὲρ εὐδοξίας καὶ τιμῆς ἤθελον τοῖς δεινοῖς αὐτοὺς  
 διδόναι ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς βουλευόμενοι. πέρας μὲν  
 γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου θάνατος, καὶ ἐν  
 20 οἰκίσκῳ τις αὐτὸν καθεύξας τηρῇ· δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἀγα-  
 θοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν ἅπασιν ἀεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς,  
 τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρειν δ' ὅ τι  
 98 ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῶ γενναίως. ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν οἱ ὑμέτεροι  
 πρόγονοι, ταῦθ' ὑμῶν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ Λακεδαι-  
 25 μονίους οὐ φίλους ὄντας οὐδ' εὐεργέτας, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ  
 τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἡδικηκότας καὶ μεγάλα, ἐπειδὴ  
 Θηβαῖοι κρατήσαντες ἐν Δεύκτροις ἀνελεῖν ἐπεχεί-

ρουν, διεκωλύσατε, οὐ φοβηθέντες τὴν τότε Θηβαίοις  
 ῥώμην καὶ δόξαν ὑπάρχουσαν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ οἷα πεποιη-  
 κώτων ἀνθρώπων κινδυνεύσετε διαλογισάμενοι· καὶ 99  
 γάρ τοι πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐδείξατε ἐκ τούτων ὅτι  
 καὶ ὅτι οὖν τις εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξαμάρτη, τούτῳ τὴν ὀργὴν 5  
 εἰς ἄλλα ἔχετε, εἰ δ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἢ ἐλευθερίας  
 κίνδυνός τις αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνη, οὔτε μνησικακή-  
 σετε οὔθ' ὑπολογιείσθε. καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνων  
 οὕτως ἐσχήκατε, ἀλλὰ πάλιν σφετεριζομένων Θη-  
 βαίων τὴν Εὐβοίαν οὐ περιείδετε, οὐδ' ὦν ὑπὸ Θεμί- 10  
 σωνος καὶ Θεοδώρου περὶ Ὡρωπὸν ἡδίκησθε ἀνεμνή-  
 σθητε, ἀλλ' ἐβοηθήσατε καὶ τούτοις, τῶν ἐθελοντῶν  
 τότε τριηράρχων πρῶτον γενομένων τῇ πόλει, ὦν  
 εἰς ἦν ἐγώ· ἀλλ' οὐπω περὶ τούτων. καί τοι καλὸν 100  
 μὲν ἐποιήσατε καὶ τὸ σῶσαι τὴν νῆσον, πολλῷ δ' 15  
 ἔτι τούτου κάλλιον τὸ καταστάντες κύριοι καὶ τῶν  
 σωμάτων καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀποδοῦναι ταῦτα δικαίως  
 αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐξημαρτηκόσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν ὦν ἡδί-  
 κησθε ἐν οἷς ἐπιστεύθητε ὑπολογισάμενοι. μυρία  
 τοίνυν ἕτερα εἰπεῖν ἔχων παραλείπω, ναυμαχίας, 20  
 ἐξόδους πεζᾶς, στρατείας, καὶ πάσαι γεγονυίας καὶ  
 νῦν ἐφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, αἷς ἀπάσας ἢ πόλις τῆς τῶν  
 ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας πεποιή-  
 ται. εἰτ' ἐγὼ τεθεωρηκὼς ἐν τοσούτοις καὶ τοιού- 101  
 τοις τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφερόντων 25  
 ἐθέλουσαν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τρόπον τινὰ τῆς  
 βουλῆς οὔσης τί ἔμελλον κελεύσειν ἢ τί συμβουλεύ-



σειν αὐτῇ ποιεῖν; μνησικακεῖν νῆ Δία πρὸς τοὺς  
 βουλομένους σώζεσθαι, καὶ προφάσεις ζητεῖν δι' αἷς  
 ἅπαντα προησόμεθα. καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινέ με  
 δικαίως, εἴ τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει καλῶν λόγῳ  
 5 μόνον κατασχύνειν ἐπεχείρησα; ἐπεὶ τό γε ἔργον  
 οὐκ ἂν ἐποίησاث' ὑμεῖς, ἀκριβῶς οἶδ' ἐγώ· εἰ γὰρ  
 ἐβούλεσθε, τί ἦν ἐμποδών; οὐχ ὑπῆρχον οἱ ταῦτ'  
 ἐροῦντες οὗτοι;

- 102 Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐφ' ᾧ τούτων ἐξῆς  
 10 ἐπολιτευόμεν· καὶ σκοπεῖτε ἐν τούτοις πάλιν αὖ,  
 τί τὸ τῇ πόλει βέλτιστον ἦν. ὁρῶν γὰρ, ὧ ἄνδρες  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ ναυτικὸν ὑμῶν καταλυόμενον, καὶ τοὺς  
 μὲν πλουσίους ἀτελεῖς ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἀναλωμάτων  
 γιγνομένους, τοὺς δὲ μέτρια ἢ μικρὰ κεκτημένους  
 15 τῶν πολιτῶν τὰ ὄντα ἀπολλύντας, ἔτι δ' ὑστερίζου-  
 σαν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν τῶν καιρῶν, ἔθηκα νόμον  
 καθ' ὃν τοὺς μὲν τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἠνάγκασα, τοὺς  
 πλουσίους, τοὺς δὲ πένητας ἔπαυσ' ἀδικουμένους,  
 τῇ πόλει δ' ὅπερ ἦν χρησιμώτατον, ἐν καιρῷ γίγνε-  
 103 σθαι τὰς παρασκευὰς ἐποίησα. καὶ γραφεῖς τὸν  
 21 ἀγῶνα τοῦτον εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσῆλθον καὶ ἀπέφυγον, καὶ  
 τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων ὁ διώκων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. καίτοι  
 πόσα χρήματα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν συμμοριῶν ἢ τοὺς  
 δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους οἴεσθέ μοι διδόναι ὥστε μά-  
 25 λιστα μὲν μὴ θείναι τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, εἰ δὲ μὴ,  
 καταβαλόντα ἑὰν ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ; τοσαῦτ', ὧ ἄνδρες  
 104 Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅσα ὀκνήσαιμ' ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν. καὶ

ταύτ' εἰκότως ἔπραττον ἐκεῖνοι. ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ μὲν τῶν προτέρων νόμων συνεκκαίδεκα λειτουργεῖν, αὐτοῖς μὲν μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀναλίσκουσι, τοὺς δ' ἀπόρους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιτρίβουσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου τὸ γιγνόμενον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἕκαστον τιθέ-<sup>5</sup> ναι, καὶ δυοῖν ἐφάνη τριήραρχος ὁ τῆς μιᾶς ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος πρότερον συντελής· οὐδὲ γὰρ τριηράρχους ἔτι ὠνόμαζον ἑαυτοὺς, ἀλλὰ συντελεῖς. ὥστε δὴ ταῦτα λυθῆναι καὶ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκασθῆναι, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὃ τι οὐκ ἐδίδουσιν. Καί μοι λέγε<sup>105</sup> πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ὃ εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφὴν, <sup>11</sup> εἶτα τοὺς καταλόγους, τὸν τ' ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου νόμου καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸν ἐμόν. λέγε.

#### ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πολυκλέους, μηνὸς βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἰπποθωντίδος, Δημοσθένους Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς εἰσήνεγκε νόμον τριηραρχικὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ προτέρου, καθ' ὃν αἱ συντέλειαι ἦσαν τῶν τριηράρχων· καὶ ἐπεχειροτόνησεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος· καὶ ἀπήνεγκε παρανόμων Δημοσθένει Πατροκλῆς Φλυεύς, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐ λαβὼν ἀπέτισε τὰς πεντακοσίας δραχμάς.]

Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὸν καλὸν κατάλογον.

106

#### ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

[Τοὺς τριηράρχους καλεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη συνεκκαίδεκα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις συντελειῶν, ἀπὸ εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν εἰς τετταράκοντα, ἐπὶ ἴσον τῇ χορηγίᾳ χρωμένους.]

Φέρε δὴ παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου κατά-  
λογον.

## ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

[Τοὺς τριηράρχους αἰρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας κατὰ τίμησιν, ἀπὸ ταλάντων δέκα· ἐὰν δὲ πλειόνων ἢ οὐσία ἀποτετιμημένη ἢ χρημάτων, κατὰ τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν ἕως τριῶν πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικοῦ ἢ λειτουργία ἕστω. κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ ἀναλογίαν ἕστω καὶ οἷς ἐλάττων οὐσία ἐστὶ τῶν δέκα ταλάντων, εἰς συντέλειαν συναγομένοις εἰς τὰ δέκα τάλαντα.]

- 107 Ἐγὼ γὰρ μικρὰ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς πένησιν ὑμῶν δοκῶ,  
ἢ μικρὰ ἀναλῶσαι ἂν τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν οἱ  
5 πλούσιοι; οὐ τοίνυν μόνον τῷ μὴ καθυφεῖναι ταῦτα  
σεμνύνομαι, οὐδὲ τῷ γράφεις ἀποφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
τῷ συμφέροντα θεῖναι τὸν νόμον καὶ τῷ πείραν ἔργῳ  
δεδωκέναι. πάντα γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν ἀποστόλων  
γιγνομένων κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐμὸν οὐχ ἱκετηρίαν  
10 ἔθηκε τριηράρχος οὐδεὶς πώποθ' ὥς ἀδικούμενος παρ'  
ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἐν Μουνυχίᾳ ἐκαθέζετο, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπο-  
στολέων ἐδέθη, οὐ τριήρης οὐτ' ἔξω καταληφθεῖσα  
ἀπώλετο τῇ πόλει, οὐτ' αὐτοῦ ἀπελείφθη οὐ δυναμένη  
108 ἀνάγεσθαι. καίτοι κατὰ τοὺς προτέρους νόμους  
15 ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο. τὸ δ' αἴτιον, ἐν τοῖς  
πένησιν ἦν τὸ λειτουργεῖν· πολλὰ δὲ τὰ ἀδύνατα  
συνέβαινεν. ἐγὼ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων εἰς τοὺς εὐπό-  
ρους μετήνεγκα τὰς τριηραρχίας· πάντ' οὖν τὰ  
δέοντα ἐγίγνετο. καὶ μὴν καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο  
20 ἄξιός εἰμι ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν, ὅτι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα

προηρούμην πολιτεύματα, ἀφ' ὧν ἅμα δόξαι καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις συνέβαινον τῇ πόλει· βάσκανον δὲ καὶ πικρὸν καὶ κακόηθες οὐδέν ἐστι πολίτευμα ἐμὸν, οὐδὲ ταπεινὸν, οὐδὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀνάξιον. ταὐτὸ 109 τοίνυν ἦθος ἔχων ἐν τε τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πολι- 5 τεύμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς φανήσομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰς παρὰ τῶν πλουσίων χάριτας μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν δίκαια εἰλόμην, οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς τὰ Φιλίππου δῶρα καὶ τὴν ξενίαν ἡγάπησα ἀντὶ τῶν κοινῇ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι συμφε- 10 ρόντων.

Ἐγούμαι τοίνυν λοιπὸν εἶναί μοι περὶ τοῦ κη- 110 ρύγματος εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν· τὸ γὰρ ὡς τὰ ἄριστα τε ἔπραττον καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὖνους εἰμὶ καὶ πρόθυμος εἶ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἱκανῶς ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων 15 δεδηλωσθαί μοι νομίζω. καίτοι τὰ μέγιστα γε τῶν πεπολιτευμένων καὶ πεπραγμένων ἐμαυτῷ παραλείπω, ὑπολαμβάνων πρῶτον μὲν ἐφεξῆς τοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους ἀποδοῦναί με δεῖν, εἰτά, κἂν μηδὲν εἴπω περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολιτευμά- 20 των, ὁμοίως παρ' ὑμῶν ἐκάστω τὸ συνειδὸς ὑπάρχειν μοι.

Τῶν μὲν οὖν λόγων, οὓς οὗτος ἄνω καὶ κάτω 111 διακυκῶν ἔλεγε περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων νόμων, οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμᾶς οἶμαι μαυθάνειν οὔτ' αὐτὸς 25 ἐδυνάμην συνεῖναι τοὺς πολλούς· ἀπλῶς δὲ τὴν ὀρθὴν περὶ τῶν δικαίων διαλέξομαι. τοσούτου γὰρ

δέω λέγειν ὥς οὐκ εἰμὶ ὑπεύθυνος, ὃ νῦν οὗτος διέ-  
 βαλλε καὶ διωρίζετο, ὥσθ' ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ὑπεύθυνος  
 εἶναι ὁμολογῶ ὦν ἢ διακεχείρικα ἢ πεπολίτευμαι παρ'  
 112 ὑμῖν. ὦν μέντοι γε ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἐπαγγειλά-  
 5 μενος δέδωκα τῷ δήμῳ, οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ὑπεύθυνος  
 εἶναί φημι (ἀκούεις Αἰσχίνη;) οὐδ' ἄλλον οὐδένα,  
 οὐδ' ἂν τῶν ἐννεά ἀρχόντων τις ὦν τύχη. τίς γάρ  
 ἐστι νόμος τοσαύτης ἀδικίας καὶ μισανθρωπίας  
 μεστὸς ὥστε τὸν δόντα τι τῶν ἰδίων καὶ ποιήσαντα  
 10 πρᾶγμα φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλόδωρον τῆς χάριτος  
 μὲν ἀποστερεῖν, εἰς τοὺς συκοφάντας δ' ἄγειν, καὶ  
 τούτους ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ὦν ἔδωκεν ἐφιστάναι; οὐδὲ  
 εἰς. εἰ δέ φησιν οὗτος, δειξάτω, καὶ γὰρ στέρξω καὶ  
 113 σιωπήσομαι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 15 ἀλλ' οὗτος συκοφαντῶν, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ τότε  
 ὦν ἐπέδωκα τὰ χρήματα, “ἐπῆνεσεν αὐτὸν,” φησὶν,  
 “ἢ βουλὴ ὑπεύθυνου ὄντα.” οὐ περὶ τούτων γε  
 οὐδενός, ὦν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκα,  
 ὦ συκοφάντα. ἀλλὰ καὶ τειχοποιὸς ἦσθα, φησί.  
 20 καὶ διὰ γε τοῦτο ὀρθῶς ἐπηνούμην, ὅτι τὰ νηλωμένα  
 ἐπέδωκα καὶ οὐκ ἐλογιζόμην. ὁ μὲν γὰρ λογισμὸς  
 εὐθυνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐξετασόντων προσδεῖται, ἢ δὲ δωρεὰ  
 χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου δικαία ἐστὶ τυγχάνειν· διόπερ  
 114 ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν ὁδὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ· ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτα οὐ  
 25 μόνον ἐν τοῖς νόμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις  
 ἔθεσιν ὥρισταί, ἐγὼ ῥαδίως πολλαχόθεν δείξω.  
 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Ναυσικλῆς στρατηγῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἀπὸ

τῶν ἰδίων προεῖτο, πολλάκις ἐστεφάνωνται ὑφ' ὑμῶν·  
εἰθ' ὅτε τὰς ἀσπίδας Διότιμος ἔδωκε καὶ πάλιν  
Χαρίδημος, ἐστεφανοῦντο· εἰθ οὕτοσι Νεοπτόλεμος  
πολλῶν ἔργων ἐπιστάτης ὢν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκε, τετί-  
μηται. σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε, εἰ τῷ τινὰ 5  
ἀρχὴν ἄρχοντι ἢ διδόναι τῇ πόλει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τὴν  
ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐξέσται, ἢ τῶν δοθέντων ἀντὶ τοῦ κομί-  
σασθαι χάριν εὐθύνας ὑφέξει. "Οτι τοίνυν ταῦτ' 115  
ἀληθῆ λέγω, λέγε τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι τὰ τούτοις  
γεγενημένα αὐτὰ λαβών. λέγε.

10

#### ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[\* Ἀρχων Δημόνικος Φλυεὺς, βοηδρομιῶνος ἔκτη μετ' εἰκάδα,  
γνώμη βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, Καλλίας Φρεάρριος εἶπεν ὅτι δοκεῖ  
τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Ναυσικλέα τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν  
ὅπλων, ὅτι Ἀθηναίων ὀπλιτῶν δισχιλίων ὄντων ἐν Ἱμβρῷ καὶ  
βοηθούντων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν νῆσον, οὐ δυναμέ-  
νου Φίλωνος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως κεχειροτονημένου διὰ τοὺς  
χειμῶνας πλεῦσαι καὶ μισθοδοτῆσαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας  
οὐσίας ἔδωκε καὶ οὐκ εἰσέπραξε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι  
τὸν στέφανον Διονυσίοις τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς.]

#### ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Εἶπε Καλλίας Φρεάρριος, πρυτάνεων λεγόντων βουλῆς 116  
γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Χαρίδημος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ἀποσταλὴς εἰς  
Σαλαμίνα, καὶ Διότιμος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποτα-  
μοῦ μάχῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινων ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων σκυλευ-  
θέντων, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων καθώπλισαν τοὺς νεανίσκους  
ἀσπίσιν ὀκτακοσίαις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφα-

νῶσαι Χαρίδημον καὶ Διότιμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι θεσμοθέτας, πρυτάνεις, ἀγωνοθέτας.]

- 117 Τούτων ἕκαστος, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ἧς ἦρχεν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἐφ' οἷς δ' ἔστεφανοῦτο, οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος. οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἐγώ· ταῦτά γὰρ δίκαιά ἐστί μοι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις δῆπου. ἐπέδωκα· ἐπαινοῦμαι διὰ ταῦτα, οὐκ ὦν ὦν ἐπέδωκα ὑπεύθυνος. ἦρχον· καὶ δέδωκά γε εὐθύνας ἐκείνων, οὐχ ὦν ἐπέδωκα. νῆ Δί', ἀλλ' ἀδίκως ἦρξα; εἶτα παρὼν, ὅτε με εἰσῆγον οἱ λογισταί, οὐ κατηγόρεις;
- 118 Ἴνα τοίνυν εἰδῆτε ὅτι αὐτὸς οὗτός μοι μαρτυρεῖ  
10 ἐφ' οἷς οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος ἦν ἔστεφανῶσθαι, λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα ὅλον τὸ γραφέν μοι. οἷς γὰρ οὐκ ἐγράψατο τοῦ προβουλεύματος, τούτοις ἂ διώκει συκοφαντῶν φανήσεται. λέγε.

#### ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐθυκλέους, πυανεψιώνος ἐνάτη ἀπίοντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Οἰνηίδος, Κτησιφῶν Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλύστιος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς γενόμενος ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐπισκευῆς καὶ προσαναλώσας εἰς τὰ ἔργα ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας τρία τάλαντα ἐπέδωκε ταῦτα τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεωρικοῦ κατασταθεὶς ἐπέδωκε τοῖς ἐκ πασῶν τῶν φυλῶν θεωροῖς ἑκατὸν μνᾶς εἰς θυσίας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ καλοκαγαθίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ



στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεύσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην.]

Οὐκοῦν ἃ μὲν ἐπέδωκα, ταῦτ' ἔστιν, ὧν οὐδὲν σὺ 119  
γέγραψαι· ἃ δέ φησιν ἡ βουλὴ δεῖν ἀντὶ τούτων  
γενέσθαι μοι, ταῦτ' ἔσθ' ἃ διώκεις. τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν  
τὰ διδόμενα ὁμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ χάριν τού-  
των ἀποδοῦναι παρανόμων γράφει. ὁ δὲ παμπό- 5  
νηρος ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς καὶ βάσκανος  
ὅντως ποῖός τις ἂν εἴη πρὸς θεῶν ; οὐχ ὁ τοιοῦτος ;

Καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττεσθαι, 120  
τὸ μὲν μυριάκις μυρίους κεκήρῳχθαι παραλείπω καὶ  
τὸ πολλάκις αὐτὸς ἐστεφανῶσθαι πρότερον. ἀλλὰ 10  
πρὸς θεῶν οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ καὶ ἀναίσθητος, Αἰσχίνη,  
ὥστ' οὐ δύνασαι λογίσασθαι ὅτι τῷ μὲν στεφανου-  
μένῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ζῆλον ὁ στέφανος, ὅπου ἂν  
ἀναρρηθῇ, τοῦ δὲ τῶν στεφανούντων ἕνεκα συμφέ-  
ρουτος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γίνεται τὸ κήρυγμα ; οἱ γὰρ 15  
ἀκούσαντες ἅπαντες εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ τὴν πόλιν προ-  
τρέπονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀποδιδόντας τὴν χάριν μᾶλλον  
ἐπαινοῦσι τοῦ στεφανουμένου· διόπερ τὸν νόμον  
τούτου ἡ πόλις γέγραφε. Λέγε δ' αὐτόν μοι τὸν  
νόμον λαβών.

20

#### ΝΟΜΟΣ.

[Ὅσοις στεφανοῦσί τινες τῶν δήμων, τὰς ἀναγορεύσεις τῶν  
στεφάνων ποιεῖσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκάστους τοῖς ἰδίῳις δήμοις, ἐν  
μή τινος ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἢ ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ· τού-  
τους δ' ἐξεῖναι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις ἀναγορεύεσθαι.]

- 121 Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος σαφῶς,  
 πλὴν εἰάν τις ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσῃται·  
 τούτους δὲ ἀναγορευέτω. τί οὖν, ὦ ταλαίπωρε,  
 συκοφαντεῖς; τί λόγους πλάττεις; τί σαυτὸν οὐκ  
 5 ἐλλεβορίζεις ἐπὶ τούτοις; ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἰσχύνει φθό-  
 νου δίκην εἰσάγων, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενός, καὶ  
 νόμους τοὺς μὲν μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη,  
 οὓς ὅλους δίκαιον ἦν ἀναγιγνώσκεσθαι τοῖς γε ὁμο-  
 122 μοκόσι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφιεῖσθαι; ἔπειτα  
 10 τοιαῦτα ποιῶν λέγεις ἃ δεῖ προσεῖναι τῷ δημοτικῷ,  
 ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντα ἐκδεδωκὼς κατὰ συγγραφὴν, εἴτ'  
 οὐκ ἔχοντα ἃ προσήκειν ἐκ τῆς συγγραφῆς κομιζό-  
 μενος, ἢ λόγῳ τοὺς δημοτικούς, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς πράγ-  
 μασι καὶ τοῖς πολιτεύμασι γιγνωσκομένους. καὶ  
 15 βοᾷς ῥήτῃ καὶ ἄρρητα ὀνομάζων, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης,  
 123 ἃ σοὶ καὶ τῷ σῷ γένει πρόσεστιν, οὐκ ἐμοί. καίτοι  
 καὶ τοῦτο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. ἐγὼ λοιδορίαν  
 κατηγορίας τούτῳ διαφέρειν ἡγοῦμαι, τῷ τὴν μὲν  
 κατηγορίαν ἀδικήματ' ἔχειν, ὣν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις εἰσὶν  
 20 αἱ τιμωρίαι, τὴν δὲ λοιδορίαν βλασφημίας, ἃς κατὰ  
 τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς περὶ ἀλλήλων συμβαί-  
 νει λέγειν. οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ τοὺς προγόνους ταυτὶ  
 τὰ δικαστήρια ὑπέειληφα οὐχ ἵνα συλλέξαντες ὑμᾶς  
 εἰς ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κακῶς τὰ ἀπόρρητα λέγω-  
 25 μεν ἀλλήλους, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐξελέγχωμεν, εἰάν τις ἡδίκη-  
 124 κῶς τι τυγχάνῃ τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα τοίνυν εἰδὼς  
 Αἰσχίνης οὐδὲν ἥττον ἐμοῦ πομπεύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ

κατηγορεῖν εἴλετο. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα ἔλαττον  
 ἔχων δίκαιός ἐστιν ἀπελθεῖν. ἤδη δ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα  
 πορεύσομαι, τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσας. πότερόν  
 σέ τις, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρὸν ἢ ἐμὸν εἶναι  
 φῆ; ἐμὸν δῆλον ὅτι. εἶτα οὐ μὲν ἦν παρ' ἐμοῦ δίκην 5  
 κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ὑπὲρ τούτων λαβεῖν, εἴπερ ἡδίκουν,  
 ἐξέλιπες, ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις, ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, ἐν ταῖς  
 ἄλλαις κρίσεσιν· οὐ δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἀθῶος ἅπασι, τοῖς 125  
 νόμοις, τῷ χρόνῳ, τῇ προθεσμίᾳ, τῷ κεκρίσθαι περὶ  
 πάντων πολλάκις πρότερον, τῷ μηδεπώποτε ἐξελεγ- 10  
 χθῆναι μηδὲν ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν, τῇ πόλει δ' ἢ πλέον ἢ  
 ἔλαττον ἀνάγκη τῶν γε δημοσίᾳ πεπραγμένων  
 μετεῖναι τῆς δόξης, ἐνταῦθα ἀπήντηκας; ὅρα μὴ  
 τούτων μὲν ἐχθρὸς ᾖς, ἐμὸς δὲ προσποιῇ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ μὲν εὐσεβὴς καὶ δικαία ψῆφος 126  
 ἅπασι δέδεικται, δεῖ δέ με, ὥς ἔοικε, καίπερ οὐ φιλο- 16  
 λοίδορον ὄντα φύσει, διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τούτου βλασφη-  
 μίας εἰρημένας ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν αὐτὰ τὰ-  
 ναγκαιότατ' εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δεῖξαι τίς ὢν  
 καὶ τίνων ῥαδίως οὕτως ἄρχει τοῦ κακῶς λέγειν, καὶ 20  
 λόγους τίνας διασύρει, αὐτὸς εἰρηκῶς ἂ τίς οὐκ ἂν  
 ὥκνησε τῶν μετρίων ἀνθρώπων φθέγγασθαι; — εἰ 127  
 γὰρ Αἰακὸς ἢ Ῥαδάμανθυς ἢ Μίνως ἦν κατηγορῶν,  
 ἀλλὰ μὴ σπερμολόγος, περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς, ὄλεθρος  
 γραμματεὺς, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν οἶμαι τοιαῦτ' εἰπεῖν οὐδ' 25  
 ἂν οὕτως ἐπαχθεῖς λόγους πορίσασθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν  
 τραγῳδίᾳ βοῶντα ὦ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ τὰ

τοιαῦτα, καὶ πάλιν σύνεσιν καὶ παιδείαν ἐπικαλού-  
 μενον, ἣ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχροὶ διαγιγνώσκεται.  
 128 ταῦτα γὰρ δήπουθεν ἤκούετ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος. σοὶ  
 δὲ ἀρετῆς, ὦ κάθαρμα, ἢ τοῖς σοῖς τίς μετουσία; ἢ  
 5 καλῶν ἢ μὴ τοιούτων τίς διάγνωσις; πόθεν ἢ πῶς  
 ἀξιωθέντι; ποῦ δὲ παιδείας σοι θέμις μνησθῆναι, ἥς  
 τῶν μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς τετυχηκότων οὐδ' ἂν εἰς εἴποι  
 περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιούτον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑτέρου λέγον-  
 τος ἐρυθρίασῃς, τοῖς δ' ἀπολειφθεῖσι μὲν ὥσπερ  
 10 σὺ, προσποιουμένοις δ' ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας τὸ τοὺς  
 ἀκούοντας ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖν, ὅταν λέγωσιν, οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν  
 τοιούτοις εἶναι περίεστιν.

129 Οὐκ ἀπορῶν δ' ὅ τι χρὴ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν εἰ-  
 πεῖν, ἀπορῶ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ, πότερ' ὡς ὁ πατήρ  
 15 σου Τρόμης ἐδούλευε παρ' Ἑλπίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τῇ Θησεΐᾳ  
 διδάσκοντι γράμματα, χοίνικας παχείας ἔχων καὶ ξύ-  
 λον, ἢ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ σου τοῖς μεθμερινοῖς γάμοις ἐν τῇ  
 κλεισίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τῇ καλαμίτῃ ἡρωϊ χρωμένη τὸν καλὸν  
 ἀνδριάντα καὶ τριταγωνιστὴν ἄκρον ἐξέθρεψέ σε;  
 20 ἀλλὰ πάντες ἴσασι ταῦτα, καὶ ἐγὼ μὴ λέγω. ἀλλ'  
 ὡς ὁ τριηραύλης Φορμίων, ὁ Δίωνος τοῦ Φρεαρρίου  
 δοῦλος, ἀνέστησεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς καλῆς ἐρ-  
 γασίας; ἀλλὰ νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀκνῶ μὴ  
 περὶ σοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα λέγων αὐτὸς οὐ προσή-  
 30 κοντας ἑμαυτῷ δόξω προηρῆσθαι λόγους. ταῦτα  
 26 μὲν οὖν ἑάσω, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ ὧν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν  
 ἄρξομαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὧν ἔτυχεν ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος

καταράται. ὁψὲ γάρ ποτε—, ὁψὲ λέγω; χθὲς  
 μὲν οὖν καὶ πρώην ἅμ' Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ῥήτωρ γέγονε,  
 καὶ δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεῖς τὸν μὲν πατέρα ἀντὶ  
 Τρόμητος ἐποίησεν Ἀτρόμητον, τὴν δὲ μητέρα σεμ-  
 νῶς πᾶν Γλαυκοθέαν ὠνόμασεν, ἣν Ἐμπουσαν 5  
 ἅπαντες ἴσασι καλουμένην, ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ  
 πᾶσχειν δηλονότι ταύτης τῆς ἐπωνυμίας τυχοῦσαν. 131  
 πόθεν γὰρ ἄλλοθεν; ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτως ἀχάριστος εἶ  
 καὶ πονηρὸς φύσει ὥστ' ἐλεύθερος ἐκ δούλου καὶ  
 πλούσιος ἐκ πτωχοῦ διὰ τουτουσὶ γεγονῶς οὐχ 10  
 ὅπως χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχεις, ἀλλὰ μισθώσας σαυτὸν  
 κατὰ τουτωνὶ πολιτεύει. καὶ περὶ ὧν μὲν ἔστι τις  
 ἀμφισβήτησις, ὥς ἄρα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εἴρηκεν,  
 ἐάσω· ἃ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν φανερώς ἀπεδείχθη  
 πράττων, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω.

15

Τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐκ οἶδε τὸν ἀποψηφισθέντα Ἀντι- 132  
 φῶντα, ὃς ἐπαγγειλάμενος Φιλίππῳ τὰ νεώρια ἐμπρή-  
 σειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦλθεν; ὃν λαβόντος ἐμοῦ κεκρυμ-  
 μένον ἐν Πειραιεὶ καὶ καταστήσαντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλη-  
 σίαν βοῶν ὁ βᾶσκανος οὗτος καὶ κεκραγῶς, ὥς ἐν 20  
 δημοκρατίᾳ δεινὰ ποιῶ τοὺς ἡτυχηκότας τῶν πολι-  
 τῶν ὑβρίζων καὶ ἐπ' οἰκίας βαδίζων ἀνευ ψηφίσμα-  
 τος, ἀφεθῆναι ἐποίησεν. καὶ εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ 133  
 Ἀρείου πάγου τὸ πρᾶγμα αἰσθομένη καὶ τὴν ὑμετέ-  
 ραν ἄγνοιαν ἐν οὐ δέοντι συμβεβηκυῖαν ἰδοῦσα ἐπε- 25  
 ζήτησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἐπανήγαγεν  
 ὥς ὑμᾶς, ἐξήρπαστ' ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ τὸ δίκην δοῦ-

ναι διαδὺς ἐξεπέμπ' ἐτ' ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ σεμνολόγου του-  
 τού· νῦν δ' ὑμεῖς στρεβλώσαυτες αὐτὸν ἀπεκτεί-  
 134 νατε, ὡς ἔδει γε καὶ τοῦτον. τοιγαροῦν εἰδυῖα ταῦτα  
 ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου τότε τούτῳ πεπραγμένα,  
 5 χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν ὑμῶν σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ  
 τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ἥσπερ πολλὰ  
 προίεσθε τῶν κοινῶν, ὡς προσείλεσθε καὶ κείνην καὶ  
 τοῦ πράγματος κυρίαν ἐποιήσατε, τοῦτον μὲν εὐθύς  
 ἀπήλασεν ὡς προδότην, Ὑπερείδῃ δὲ λέγειν προσέ-  
 10 ταξε· καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέρουσα τὴν ψῆφον  
 ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐδεμία ψῆφος ἠνέχθη τῷ μιαιῳ τούτῳ.  
 135 Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κύλει μοι τούτων τοὺς  
 μάρτυρας.

## MARTYRES.

[Μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει ὑπὲρ πάντων οἷδε, Καλλίας Σου-  
 νιεύς, Ζήνων Φλυεύς, Κλέων Φαληρεὺς, Δημόνικος Μαραθώνιος,  
 ὅτι τοῦ δήμου ποτὲ χειροτονήσαντος Αἰσχίνην σύνδικον ὑπὲρ  
 τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας συνεδρεύσαντες  
 ἡμεῖς ἐκρίναμεν Ὑπερείδην ἄξιον εἶναι μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως  
 λέγειν, καὶ ἀπεστάλῃ Ὑπερείδῃς.]

Οὐκοῦν ὅτε τούτου λέγοντος ἀπήλασεν ἡ βουλὴ  
 15 καὶ προσέταξεν ἑτέρῳ, τότε καὶ προδότην εἶναι καὶ  
 κακόνουν ὑμῖν ἀπέφηνεν.  
 136 Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο τοιοῦτο πολίτευμα τοῦ  
 νεανίου τούτου, ὁμοίον γε, οὐ γάρ; οἷς ἐμοῦ κατη-  
 γορεῖ· ἕτερον δὲ ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε. ὅτε γὰρ Πύθωνα  
 20 Φίλιππος ἔπεμψε τὸν Βυζάντιον καὶ παρὰ τῶν

αὐτοῦ συμμάχων πάντων συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὡς ἐν αἰσχύνη ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ἀδικούσαν, τότε ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῶ ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν οὐχ ὑπεχώρησα, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἀντεῖπον καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια οὐχὶ προὔδωκα, 5 ἀλλ' ἀδικούντα Φίλιππον ἐξήλεγξα φανερώς οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς ἐκείνου συμμάχους αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους ὁμολογεῖν· οὗτος δὲ συνηγωνίζετο καὶ τὰναντία ἐμαρτύρει τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτα ψευδῇ.

Καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρη ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ πάλιν μετὰ ταῦθ' 137 ὕστερον Ἀναξίνῳ τῷ κατασκόπῳ συνιῶν εἰς τὴν 11 Θράσωνος οἰκίαν ἐλήφθη· καίτοι ὅστις τῷ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πεμφθέντι μόνος μόνῳ συνῆει καὶ ἐκοινολογεῖτο, οὗτος αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχε τῇ φύσει κατάσκοπος καὶ πολέμιος τῇ πατρίδι. Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ 15 λέγω, κάλει μοι τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

#### MARTYRES.

[Τελέδημος Κλέωνος, Ὑπερείδης Καλλαίσχρου, Νικόμαχος Διοφάντου μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει καὶ ἐπωμόσαντο ἐπὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰδέναι Αἰσχίνην Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδην συνερχόμενον νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν καὶ κοινολογούμενον Ἀναξίνῳ, ὃς ἐκρίθη εἶναι κατάσκοπος παρὰ Φιλίππου αὐταὶ ἀπεδόθησαν αἱ μαρτυρίαι ἐπὶ Νικίου, ἑκατομβαιῶνος τρίτη ἵσταμένου.]

Μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παρα- 138 λέιπω. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ἔχει. πολλὰ ἂν ἐγὼ



ἔτι τούτων ἔχοιμι δείξαι, ὧν οὗτος κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς  
 χρόνους τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετῶν, ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπηρεά-  
 ζων εὐρέθη. ἀλλ' οὐ τίθεται ταῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν εἰς  
 ἀκριβῇ μνήμην οὐδ' ἦν προσῆκεν ὀργὴν, ἀλλὰ δεδώ-  
 5 κατε ἔθει τινὶ φαύλῳ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ βουλο-  
 μένῳ τὸν λέγοντά τι τῶν ὑμῖν συμφερόντων ὑποσκε-  
 λίζειν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν, τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς λοιδορίαις  
 ἡδονῆς καὶ χάριτος τὸ τῆς πόλεως συμφέρον ἀνταλ-  
 λαττόμενοι· διόπερ ῥᾶόν ἐστι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον αἰεὶ  
 10 τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετοῦντα μισθαρνεῖν ἢ τὴν ὑπὲρ  
 ὑμῶν ἐλόμενον τάξιν πολιτεύεσθαι.

139 Καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν φανερώς συνα-  
 γωνίζεσθαι Φιλίππῳ δεινὸν μὲν, ὦ γῇ καὶ θεοῖ, πῶς  
 γὰρ οὐ; κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος· δότε δ', εἰ βούλεσθε,  
 15 δότε αὐτῷ τοῦτο. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ φανερώς ἤδη τὰ  
 πλοῖα ἐσεσύλητο, Χερρόνησος ἐπορθεῖτο, ἐπὶ τὴν  
 Ἀττικὴν ἐπορεύεθ' ἄνθρωπος, οὐκέτ' ἐν ἀμφισβητη-  
 σίμῳ τὰ πράγματα ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐνείστίκει πόλεμος, ὃ  
 τι μὲν πῶποτ' ἔπραξεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὗτος  
 20 ἰαμβειοφάγος, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι δείξαι, οὐδ' ἔστιν οὔτε  
 μείζον οὔτ' ἑλαττον ψήφισμα οὐδὲν Αἰσχίνῃ ὑπὲρ  
 τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει. εἰ δέ φησι, νῦν δεῖξάτω  
 ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέν. καίτοι  
 δυοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἢ μηδὲν τοῖς πραττο-  
 25 μένοισι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τότ' ἔχοντ' ἐγκαλεῖν μὴ γράφειν  
 παρὰ ταῦθ' ἕτερα, ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμφέρον ζη-  
 τοῦντα μὴ φέρειν εἰς μέσον τὰ τούτων ἀμείνω.

Ἄρ' οὖν οὐδ' ἔλεγεν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἔγραφεν, ἡνίκα 140  
 ἐργάσασθαι τι δέοι κακόν; οὐ μὲν οὖν ἦν εἰπεῖν  
 ἐτέρῳ. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ φέρειν ἐδύναθ', ὡς  
 ἔοικεν, ἢ πόλις καὶ ποιῶν οὗτος λανθάνειν. ἐν δ'  
 ἐπεξεργάσατο, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοιοῦτον δὲ πᾶσι 5  
 τοῖς προτέροις ἐπέθηκε τέλος. περὶ οὗ τοὺς πολλοὺς  
 ἀνῆλωσε λόγους, τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τῶν Λοκρῶν  
 διεξιὼν δόγματα, ὡς διαστρέψων τὰ ληθές. τὸ δ'  
 οὐ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι. πόθεν; οὐδέποτε ἐκνίψει σὺ  
 τὰ κεῖ πεπραγμένα σαυτῷ. οὐχ οὕτω πολλὰ ἐρεῖς. 10

Καλῶ δ' ἐναντίον ὑμῶν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς 141  
 θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας, ὅσοι τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι  
 τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, ὃς πα-  
 τρώός ἐστι τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐπεύχομαι πᾶσι τούτοις,  
 εἰ μὲν ἀληθῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἴπομι καὶ εἶπον τότ' εὐθύς 15  
 ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, ὅτε πρῶτον εἶδον τουτονὶ τὸν μιαρὸν  
 τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἀπτόμενον (ἔγνω γὰρ, εὐθέως  
 ἔγνω), εὐτυχίαν μοι δοῦναι καὶ σωτηρίαν, εἰ δὲ  
 πρὸς ἔχθραν ἢ φιλονεικίας ἰδίας ἕνεκ' αἰτίαν ἐπάγω  
 τούτῳ ψευδῇ, πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνόνητόν με 20  
 ποιῆσαι.

Τί οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπήραμαι καὶ διετευνάμην οὕτως 142  
 σφοδρῶς; ὅτι καὶ γράμματ' ἔχων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ  
 κείμενα, ἐξ ὧν ταῦτ' ἐπιδείξω σαφῶς, καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδὼς  
 τὰ πεπραγμένα μνημονεύοντας, ἐκείνο φοβοῦμαι, μὴ 25  
 τῶν εἰργασμένων αὐτῷ κακῶν ὑποληφθῇ οὗτος ἐλάτ-  
 των. ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη, ὅτε τοὺς τάλαιπώρους

Φωκέας ἐποίησεν ἀπολέσθαι τὰ ψευδῇ δεῦρ' ἀπαγ-  
 113 γείλας. τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον, δι' ὃν εἰς  
 Ἑλάτειαν ἦλθε Φίλιππος καὶ δι' ὃν ἡρέθη τῶν  
 Ἀμφικτυόνων ἡγεμῶν, ὃς ἅπαντ' ἀνέτρεψε τὰ τῶν  
 5 Ἑλλήνων, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ συγκατασκευάσας καὶ πάν-  
 των εἰς ἀνὴρ τῶν μεγίστων αἴτιος κακῶν. καὶ τότε  
 εὐθὺς ἐμοῦ διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ  
 ἐκκλησίᾳ “πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσάγεις, Αἰσχί-  
 νη, πόλεμον Ἀμφικτυονικόν” οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρακλή-  
 10 σεως συγκαθήμενοι οὐκ εἶπον με λέγειν, οἱ δ' ἐθαύ-  
 μαζον καὶ κενὴν αἰτίαν διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν ἐπάγειν  
 144 με ὑπελίζεσθαι αὐτῷ. ἥτις δ' ἡ φύσις, ὦ ἄνδρες  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, γέγονε τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τίνος  
 ἕνεκα ταῦτα συνεσκευάσθη καὶ πῶς ἐπράχθη, νῦν  
 15 ἀκούσατε, ἐπεὶ δὴ τότε ἐκωλύθητε· καὶ γὰρ εὖ πρᾶγμα  
 συντεθεὶν ὄψεσθε, καὶ μεγάλα ὠφελήσεσθε πρὸς ἱστο-  
 ρίαν τῶν κοινῶν, καὶ ὅση δεινότης ἦν ἐν τῷ Φιλίππῳ  
 θεάσεσθε.

145 Οὐκ ἦν τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμου πέρας οὐδ' ἀπαλ-  
 20 λαγὴ Φιλίππῳ, εἰ μὴ Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς  
 ἐχθροὺς ποιήσειε τῇ πόλει. ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἀθλίως  
 καὶ κακῶς τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων πολεμούν-  
 των αὐτῷ ὅμως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν  
 ληστῶν μυρία ἔπασχε κακά. οὔτε γὰρ ἐξίγετο τῶν  
 25 ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνομένων οὐδὲν οὔτ' εἰσέγετο ὧν  
 146 ἐδεῖτ' αὐτῷ. ἦν δὲ οὔτ' ἐν τῇ θαλίττῃ τότε κρείττων  
 ὑμῶν οὔτ' εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλθεῖν δυνατὸς μήτε Θετ-

ταλῶν ἀκολουθούντων μήτε Θηβαίων διέντων· συνέ-  
βαινε δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ πολέμῳ κρατοῦντι τοὺς ὁποιοῦς-  
δήποθ' ὑμεῖς ἐξεπέμπετε στρατηγούς (ἐὼ γὰρ τοῦτό  
γε) αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων  
ἐκατέροις κακοπαθεῖν. εἰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' 147  
ἔχθρας ἢ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἢ τοὺς Θηβαίους συμπεί- 6  
θοι βαδίζειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, οὐδένα ἡγείτο προσέξειν αὐτῷ  
τὸν νοῦν· ἐὰν δὲ τὰς ἐκείνων κοινὰς προφάσεις λα-  
βὼν ἡγεμὼν αἰρεθῇ, ῥᾶον ἡλπίζε τὰ μὲν παρακρού-  
σασθαι, τὰ δὲ πείσειν. τί οὖν; ἐπιχειρεῖ, θεάσασθ' 10  
ὥς εὖ, πόλεμον ποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ περὶ  
τὴν Πυλαίαν ταραχὴν· εἰς γὰρ ταῦτ' εὐθύς αὐτοὺς  
ὑπελάμβανεν αὐτοῦ δεήσεσθαι. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο 148  
ἢ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πεμπομένων ἱερομνημόνων ἢ τῶν  
ἐκείνου συμμάχων εἰσηγοῖτό τις, ὑπόψεσθαι τὸ 15  
πρᾶγμα ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς Θεττα-  
λοὺς καὶ πάντας φυλάξεσθαι, ἂν δ' Ἀθηναῖος ἢ  
καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ὑπεναντίων ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν,  
εὐπόρως λήσειν· ὅπερ συνέβη. πῶς οὖν ταῦτ' 149  
ἐποίησεν; μισθοῦται τουτονί. οὐδενὸς δὲ προει- 20  
δότος, οἶμαι, τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδὲ φυλάττοντος, ὥσπερ  
εἶωθε τὰ τοιαῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν γίγνεσθαι, προβληθεὶς  
πυλάγορας οὗτος καὶ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων χειροτονη-  
σάντων αὐτὸν ἀνερρήθη. ὥς δὲ τὸ τῆς πόλεως  
ἀξίωμα λαβὼν ἀφίκετο εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύοντας, 25  
πάντα τᾶλλ' ἀφείς καὶ παριδὼν ἐπέβαινε ἐφ' οἷς  
ἐμισθώθη, καὶ λόγους εὐπροσώπους καὶ μύθους,

ὅθεν ἡ Κιρραία χώρα καθιερώθη, συνθεῖς καὶ διε-  
 150 ξελθὼν ἀνθρώπους ἀπείρους λόγων καὶ τὸ μέλλον οὐ  
 προορωμένους, τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας, πείθει ψηφίσασθαι  
 περιελθεῖν τὴν χώραν ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἀμφισσεῖς σφῶν  
 5 αὐτῶν οὖσαν γεωργεῖν ἔφασαν, οὗτος δὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς  
 χώρας ἡτιᾶτο εἶναι, οὐδεμίαν δίκην τῶν Λοκρῶν  
 ἐπαγγόντων ἡμῖν, οὐδ' ἂ νῦν οὗτος προφασίζεται,  
 λέγων οὐκ ἀληθῆ. γνῶσεσθε δ' ἐκείθεν. οὐκ ἐνῆν  
 ἄνευ τοῦ προσκαλέσασθαι δήπου τοῖς Λοκροῖς  
 10 δίκην κατὰ τῆς πόλεως τελέσασθαι. τίς οὖν ἐκλή-  
 τευσεν ἡμᾶς; ἐπὶ ποίας ἀρχῆς; εἰπὲ τὸν εἰδότα,  
 δείξον. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις, ἀλλὰ κενῇ προφάσει  
 151 ταύτῃ κατεχρῶ καὶ ψευδεῖ. περιούντων τοίνυν τὴν  
 χώραν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τὴν  
 15 τούτου, προσπεσόντες οἱ Λοκροὶ μικροῦ μὲν κατη-  
 κόντισαν ἅπαντας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ συνήρπασαν τῶν  
 ἱερομνημόνων. ὥς δ' ἅπαξ ἐκ τούτων ἐγκλήματα  
 καὶ πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐταράχθη, τὸ  
 μὲν πρῶτον ὁ Κόττυφος αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων  
 20 ἤγαγε στρατιὰν, ὥς δ' οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, οἱ δ'  
 ἐλθόντες οὐδὲν ἐποιοῦν, εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν πυλαίαν  
 ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον εὐθύς ἡγεμόνα ἦγόν οἱ κατεσκευ-  
 ασμένοῖ καὶ πάλαι πονηροὶ τῶν Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν  
 152 ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι. καὶ προφάσεις εὐλόγους  
 25 εἰλήφесαν· ἥ γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰσφέρειν καὶ ξένους τρέ-  
 φειν ἔφασαν δεῖν καὶ ζημιοῦν τοὺς μὴ ταῦτα ποιοῦν-  
 τας, ἥ ἐκείνον αἰρεῖσθαι· τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν;

ἡρέθη γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ἡγεμών. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐ-  
 θέως δύναμιν συλλέξας καὶ παρελθὼν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν  
 Κιρραίαν, ἐρρώσθαι φράσας πολλὰ Κιρραίοις καὶ  
 Δοκροῖς, τὴν Ἑλλάτειαν καταλαμβάνει. εἰ μὲν οὖν 153  
 μὴ μετέγνωσαν εὐθέως, ὡς τοῦτ' εἶδον, οἱ Θηβαῖοι 5  
 καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο, ὥσπερ χειμάρρους ἂν ἅπαν  
 τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέπεσε· νῦν δὲ  
 τό γ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπέσχον αὐτὸν ἐκείνοι, μάλιστα μὲν,  
 ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θεῶν τινὸς εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς ὑμᾶς,  
 εἰτὰ μέντοι καὶ, ὅσον καθ' ἓνα ἄνδρα, καὶ δι' ἐμέ. 10  
 δὸς δέ μοι τὰ δόγματα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν  
 οἷς ἕκαστα πέπρακται, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ἡλίκα πράγματα  
 ἢ μιὰ κεφαλὴν ταραξάσα αὕτη δίκη οὐκ ἔδωκε.  
 λέγε μοι τὰ δόγματα. 154

#### ΔΟΓΜΑ ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ.

[Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἐαρινῆς πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυ-  
 λαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ  
 τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν  
 ἱερὰν χώραν καὶ σπείρουσι καὶ βοσκήμασι κατανέμουσιν, ἐπελ-  
 θεῖν τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους, καὶ στήλαις διαλα-  
 βεῖν τοὺς ὄρους, καὶ ἀπειπεῖν τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσι τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ  
 ἐπιβαίνειν.]

#### ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΟΓΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἐαρινῆς πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυ- 155  
 λαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ  
 τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν  
 κατανειμάμενοι γεωργοῦσι καὶ βοσκήματα νέμουνσι, καὶ κωλυό-

μενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις παραγενόμενοι, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον κεκωλύκασι μετὰ βίας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τετραυματίκασι, τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἡρημένον τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων Κόττυφον τὸν Ἀρκάδα πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν Μακεδόνα, καὶ ἀξιοῦν ἵνα βοηθήσῃ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν, ὅπως μὴ περιίδῃ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσεβῶν Ἀμφισσέων τὸν θεὸν πλημμελούμενον· καὶ διότι αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα αἰροῦνται οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων.]

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο· εἰσὶ γὰρ καθ' οὓς ἐπυλαγόρησεν οὗτος. λέγε.

## ΧΡΟΝΟΙ.

[Ἄρχων Μνησιθείδης, μηνὸς ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα.]

156 Δὸς δὴ μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν, ὥς οὐχ ὑπήκουον οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ  
5 συμμάχους ὁ Φίλιππος, ἵν' εἰδῇτε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης σαφῶς ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἀληθῇ πρόφασιν τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ὑμᾶς πράττειν, ἀπεκρύπτετο, κοινὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι δόξαντα ποιεῖν προσεποιεῖτο· ὁ δὲ τὰς  
10 ἀφορμὰς ταύτας καὶ τὰς προφάσεις αὐτῷ παρασχὼν οὗτος ἦν. λέγε.

## ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

157 [Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς δημιουργοῖς καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις πᾶσι χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ Λοκροὶ οἱ καλούμενοι Ὀζό-



λαι, κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ, πλημμελοῦσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν ἐρχόμενοι μεθ' ὅπλων λεηλατοῦσι, βούλομαι τῷ θεῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν βοηθεῖν καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς παραβαίνοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐσεβῶν· ὥστε συναντᾶτε μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα, ἔχοντες ἐπισιτισμὸν ἡμερῶν τετταράκοντα, τοῦ ἐνεστώτος μηνὸς λῶου, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἄγομεν, ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, βοηδρομιῶνος, ὡς δὲ Κορίνθιοι, πανήμου. τοῖς δὲ μὴ συναντήσασι πανδημεὶ χρησόμεθα [τοῖς δὲ συμβούλοις ἡμῖν κειμένοις] ἐπιζημίους. εὐτυχεῖτε.]

Ἵσχυρὰ ὅτι φεύγει μὲν τὰς ἰδίας προφάσεις, εἰς 158  
δὲ τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς καταφεύγει. τίς οὖν ὁ ταῦτα  
συμπαρασκευάσας αὐτῷ; τίς ὁ τὰς προφάσεις ταύ-  
τας ἐνδούς; τίς ὁ τῶν κακῶν τῶν γεγεννημένων  
μάλιστα αἴτιος; οὐχ οὗτος; μὴ τοίνυν λέγετε, ὧ 5  
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περιιόντες ὡς ὑφ' ἐνὸς τοιαῦτα  
πέπουθεν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀνθρώπου. οὐχ ὑφ' ἐνὸς, ἀλλ'  
ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν τῶν παρ' ἐκάστοις, ὧ γῇ  
καὶ θεοί· ὧν εἰς οὐτοσί, ὃν, εἰ μὴδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα 159  
τάληθες εἰπεῖν δέοι, οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι ἔγωγε κοινὸν 10  
ἀλιτήριον τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπολωλότων ἀπάντων  
εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώπων, τόπων, πόλεων· ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα  
παρασχὼν, οὗτος τῶν φύντων αἴτιος. ὃν ὅπως  
ποτὲ οὐκ εὐθύς ἰδόντες ἀπεστράφητε θαυμάζω.  
πλὴν πολὺ τι σκότος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ παρ' ὑμῖν 15  
πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.

Συμβέβηκε τοίνυν μοι τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος 160  
τούτῳ πεπραγμένων ἀψαμένῳ εἰς ἃ τούτοις ἐναν-

τιούμενος αὐτὸς πεπολίτευμαι ἀφίχθαι· ἃ πολλῶν  
 μὲν ἕνεκ' ἂν εἰκότως ἀκούσαιτέ μου, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι  
 αἰσχρὸν ἔστιν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν τὰ  
 ἔργα τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πόνων ὑπέμεινα, ὑμεῖς δὲ μηδὲ  
 161 τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν ἀνέξεσθε. ὁρῶν γὰρ ἐγὼ Θη-  
 6 βαίους, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Φιλίππου  
 φρονούντων καὶ διεφθαρμένων παρ' ἑκατέροις, ὃ μὲν  
 ἦν ἀμφοτέροις φοβερὸν καὶ φυλακῆς πολλῆς δεόμε-  
 νον, τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ἔαν αὐξάνεσθαι, παρορῶντας  
 10 καὶ οὐδὲ καθ' ἓν φυλαττομένους, εἰς ἔχθραν δὲ καὶ  
 τὸ προσκρούειν ἀλλήλοις ἐτοίμως ἔχοντας, ὅπως  
 τοῦτο μὴ γένοιτο παρατηρῶν διετέλουν, οὐκ ἀπὸ  
 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης μόνον ταῦτα συμφέρεῖν ὑπο-  
 162 λαμβάνων, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς Ἀριστοφῶντα καὶ πάλιν Εὐ-  
 15 βουλον πάντα τὸν χρόνον βουλομένους πράξαι ταύ-  
 την τὴν φιλίαν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλάκις  
 ἀντιλέγοντας ἑαυτοῖς τοῦθ' ὁμογνωμονοῦντας ἀεί-  
 οὺς σὺ ζῶντας μὲν, ὧ κίναδος, κολακεύων παρηκο-  
 λούθεις, τεθνεώτων δ' οὐκ αἰσθάνει κατηγορῶν· ἃ  
 20 γὰρ περὶ Θηβαίων ἐπιτιμᾶς ἐμοὶ, ἐκείνων πολὺ  
 μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖς, τῶν πρότερον ἢ ἐγὼ  
 163 ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν δοκιμασάντων. ἀλλ' ἐκείσε  
 ἐπάνειμί, ὅτι τὸν ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον τούτου μὲν  
 ποιήσαντος, συμπεριναμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν  
 25 συνεργῶν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν, συνέβη  
 τὸν Φιλίππον ἐλθεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, οὐπερ ἕνεκα τὰς  
 πόλεις οὗτοι συνέκρουον, καὶ εἰ μὴ προεξανέστημεν

μικρὸν, οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν ἂν ἐδυνήθημεν· οὕτω μέχρι πόρρω προήγαγον οὗτοι τὴν ἔχθραν. ἐν οἷς δ' ἦτε ἤδη τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τουτωνὶ τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἀκούσαντες καὶ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων εἴσεσθε. Καί μοι λέγε ταῦτα λαβών.

5

#### ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἕκτη φθί- 164  
νοντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἐρεχθίδος, βουλῆς καὶ στρατη-  
γῶν γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἅς μὲν κατείληφε πόλεις τῶν  
ἀστυγειτόνων, τινὰς δὲ πορθεῖ, κεφαλαίῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν  
παρισκευάζεται παραγίγνεσθαι, παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγούμενος τὰς ἡμε-  
τέρας συνθήκας, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους λύειν ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ τὴν  
εἰρήνην, παραβαίνων τὰς κοινὰς πίστεις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ  
καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις, οἵτινες αὐτῷ δια-  
λέξονται καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν μάλιστα μὲν τὴν πρὸς  
ἡμᾶς ὁμόνοιαν διατηρεῖν καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, εἰ δὲ μὴ, πρὸς τὸ  
βουλεύσασθαι δοῦναι χρόνον τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς ποι-  
ήσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ θαργηλιῶνος μηνός. ἡρέθησαν ἐκ τῆς  
βουλῆς Σίμος Ἀναγυράσιος, Εὐθύδημος Φλυάσιος, Βουλαγόρας  
Ἀλωπεκῆθεν.]

#### ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς μουυχιῶνος ἔτη καὶ νέα, 165  
πολεμάρχου γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος εἰς ἀλλοτριότητα Θη-  
βαίους πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιβάλλεται καταστήσαι, παρεσκεύασται δὲ  
καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πρὸς τοὺς ἔγγιστα τῆς Ἀττικῆς  
παραγίγνεσθαι τόπους, παραβαίνων τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπαρχού-  
σας αὐτῷ συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμψαι  
πρὸς αὐτὸν κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀξιώσουσι καὶ παρα-  
καλέσουσιν αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς, ὅπως ἐνδεχομένως

ὁ δῆμος βουλευέσθαι· καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ κέκρικε βοηθεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων. ἤρέθησαν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς Νέαρχος Σωσινόμου, Πολυκράτης Ἐπίφρονος, καὶ κῆρυξ Εὐνομος Ἀναφλύστιος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου.]

166 Λέγε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

#### ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἦν μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἵχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αἵρεσιν, οὐκ ἀγνώω, καὶ τίνα σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθε προσκαλέσασθαι βουλόμενοι Θετταλοὺς καὶ Θηβαίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτούς· βέλτιον δ' αὐτῶν φρονούντων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν αἵρεσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἰσταμένων, νῦν ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς ἀποστείλαντες ὑμεῖς πρὸς με πρέσβεις καὶ κήρυκα συνθηκῶν μνημονεύετε καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς αἰτεῖσθε, κατ' οὐδὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν πεπλημμελημένοι. ἐγὼ μέντοι ἀκούσας τῶν πρεσβευτῶν συγκατατίθεμαι τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις καὶ ἔτοιμός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς, ἂν περ τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς συμβουλευόντας ὑμῖν παραπέψαντες τῆς προσηκούσης ἀτιμίας ἀξιώσητε. ἔρρωσθε.]

#### ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΙΣ.

167 [Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Θηβαίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἐκομισάμην τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιστολὴν, δι' ἧς μοι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν ἀνανεοῦσθε καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ὄντως ἐμοὶ ποιεῖτε. πυνθάνομαι μέντοι διότι πᾶσαν ὑμῖν Ἀθηναῖοι προσφέρονται φιλοτιμίαν βουλόμενοι ὑμᾶς συγκαταίνους γενέσθαι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρακαλουμένοις. πρότερον μὲν οὖν ὑμῶν κατεγίγνωσκον ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλειν πείθεσθαι ταῖς ἐκείνων ἐλπίσι καὶ ἐπακολουθεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ προαιρέσει. νῦν δ' ἐπιγνούς ὑμᾶς τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐζητηκότας ἔχειν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἐτέρων ἐπα-

κολουθεῖν γνώμαις, ἥσθην καὶ μάλλον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ κατὰ πολλὰ, μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῷ βουλευέσασθαι περὶ τούτων ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχειν ἐν εὐνοίᾳ· ὅπερ οὐ μικρὰν ὑμῖν οἴσειν ἐλπίζω ῥοπήν, εἰάν περ ἐπὶ ταύτης μένητε τῆς προθέσεως. ἔρρωσθε.]

Οὕτω διαθεὶς ὁ Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλή- 168  
 λας διὰ τούτων, καὶ τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς ψηφίς-  
 μασι καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, ἦκεν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν  
 καὶ τὴν Ἐλάτειαν κατέλαβεν, ὥς οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι γέ-  
 νοιτο ἔτι συμπνευσάντων ἂν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων. 5  
 ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸν τότε συμβάντα ἐν τῇ πόλει θόρυβον  
 ἴστε μὲν ἅπαυτες· μικρὰ δ' ἀκούσατε ὅμως, αὐτὰ  
 τὰναγκαϊότατα.

Ἐσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἦκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς 169  
 τοὺς πρυτάνεις ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατείληπται. καὶ μετὰ 10  
 ταῦτα οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξαναστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες  
 τοὺς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξείρ-  
 γον καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἐνεπύμπρασαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατη-  
 γοὺς μετεπέμποντο καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἐκάλουν·  
 καὶ θορύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία 15  
 ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν  
 εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὑμεῖς δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν  
 ἐπορεύεσθε, καὶ πρὶν ἐκεῖνην χρηματίσαι καὶ προ-  
 βουλευσαι πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω καθήτο. καὶ μετὰ 170  
 ταῦτα ὡς εἰσῆλθεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρυ- 20  
 τάνεις τὰ προσηγγελμένα ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τὸν ἥκοντα  
 παρήγαγον κακεῖνος εἶπεν, ἡρώτα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ “τίς

ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;” παρήει δ’ οὐδεῖς. πολλάκις  
 δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνίστατ’  
 οὐδεῖς, ἀπάντων μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν παρόντων,  
 ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων, καλούσης δὲ τῆς πατρίδος  
 5 τῇ κοινῇ φωνῇ τὸν ἐροῦνθ’ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας· ἦν γὰρ  
 ὁ κῆρυξ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους φωνῇ ἀφίησι, ταύτην  
 171 κοινὴν τῆς πατρίδος δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἡγεῖσθαι. καί-  
 τοι εἰ μὲν τοὺς σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν βουλομένους  
 παρελθεῖν ἔδει, πάντες ἂν ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀθη-  
 10 ναῖοι ἀναστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐβαδίζετε· πάντες  
 γὰρ οἶδ’ ὅτι σωθῆναι αὐτὴν ἐβούλεσθε· εἰ δὲ τοὺς  
 πλουσιωτάτους, οἱ τριακόσιοι· εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀμφοτέρω  
 ταῦτα, καὶ εὖνους τῇ πόλει καὶ πλουσίους, οἱ μετὰ  
 172 ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιδόσεις ἐπιδόντες· καὶ γὰρ  
 15 εὐνοία καὶ πλούτῳ τοῦτ’ ἐποίησαν· ἀλλ’ ὥς ἔοικεν,  
 ἐκείνος ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη οὐ μόνον εὖνουν  
 καὶ πλούσιον ἄνδρα ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρηκολουθη-  
 κότα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ συλλελογισμέ-  
 νον ὀρθῶς τίνος ἔνεκα ταῦτ’ ἔπραττεν ὁ Φίλιππος  
 20 καὶ τί βουλόμενος· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ταῦτ’ εἰδὼς μηδ’ ἐξη-  
 τακῶς πόρρωθεν ἐπιμελῶς, οὗτ’ εἰ εὖνους ἦν οὗτ’ εἰ  
 πλούσιος, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἔμελλεν ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν  
 173 εἴσεσθαι οὐδ’ ὑμῖν ἔξειν συμβουλευεῖν. ἐφάνην  
 τοῖνυν οὗτος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγὼ, καὶ παρελθὼν  
 25 εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἅ μου δυοῖν ἔνεκ’ ἀκούσατε προσ-  
 σχόντες τὸν νοῦν, ἐνὸς μὲν, ἵν’ εἰδῆτε ὅτι μόνος τῶν  
 λεγόντων καὶ πολιτευομένων ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας

τάξιν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς οὐκ ἔλιπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγων καὶ  
γράφων ἐξηταζόμενῃ τὰ δέονθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς  
τοῖς φοβεροῖς, ἐτέρου δὲ, ὅτι μικρὸν ἀναλώσαντες  
χρόνον πολλῶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πάσης πολιτείας  
ἔσεσθ' ἐμπειρότεροι. εἶπον τοίνυν ὅτι “τοὺς μὲν 174  
ὡς ὑπαρχόντων Θηβαίων Φιλίππῳ λίαν θορυβουμέ- 6  
νους ἀγνοεῖν τὰ παρόντα πράγμαθ' ἡγοῦμαι· εὖ γὰρ  
οἶδ' ὅτι, εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐτύγχανεν ἔχον, οὐκ ἂν αὐ-  
τὸν ἡκούομεν ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ ὄντα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμε-  
τέροις ὁρίοις. ὅτι μέντοι ἔν' ἔτοιμα ποιήσεται τὰ 10  
ἐν Θήβαις ἡκει, σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι. ὡς δ' ἔχει” 175  
ἔφην “ταῦτα, ἀκούσατέ μου. ἐκεῖνος ὅσους ἢ πεί-  
σαι χρήμασι Θηβαίων ἢ ἐξαπατῆσαι ἐνὴν, ἅπαντας  
ἡντρέπιστα· τοὺς δ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνθεστηκότας αὐτῷ  
καὶ νῦν ἐναντιουμένους οὐδαμῶς πείσαι δύναται. τί 15  
οὖν βούλεται, καὶ τίνος ἕνεκα τὴν Ἐλάτειαν κατεί-  
ληφεν; πλησίον δύναμιν δείξας καὶ παραστήσας τὰ  
ὄπλα τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἐπᾶραι καὶ θρασεῖς  
ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐναντιουμένους καταπληῆξαι, ἔν' ἢ  
συγχωρήσωσι φοβηθέντες ἃ νῦν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν, ἢ 20  
βιασθῶσιν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν προαιρησόμεθ' ἡμεῖς” 176  
ἔφην “ἐν τῷ παρόντι, εἴ τι δύσκολον πέπρακται  
Θηβαίοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τούτου μεμνήσθαι καὶ ἀπισ-  
τεῖν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὔσι μερίδι, πρῶ-  
τον μὲν ἃ ἂν εὔξαιτο Φίλιππος ποιήσομεν, εἴτα 25  
φοβοῦμαι μὴ προσδεξαμένων τῶν νῦν ἀνθεστηκό-  
των αὐτῷ καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ πάντων φιλιππισάντων



εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔλθωσιν ἀμφότεροι. ἂν μέντοι  
 πεισθῇτ' ἐμοὶ καὶ πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλο-  
 νεικεῖν περὶ ὧν ἂν λέγω γένησθε, οἶμαι καὶ τὰ  
 δέοντα λέγειν δόξειν καὶ τὸν ἐφεστηκότα κίνδυνον  
 177 τῇ πόλει διαλύσειν. τί οὖν φημὶ δεῖν; πρῶτον μὲν  
 6 τὸν παρόντα ἐπανεῖναι φόβον, εἴτα μεταθέσθαι καὶ  
 φοβεῖσθαι πάντας ὑπὲρ Θηβαίων· πολὺ γὰρ τῶν  
 δεινῶν εἰσιν ἡμῶν ἐγγυτέρω, καὶ προτέροις αὐτοῖς  
 ἐστὶν ὁ κίνδυνος· ἔπειτ' ἐξελθόντας Ἐλευσῖνάδε  
 10 τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας δεῖξαι πᾶσιν ὑμᾶς  
 αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντας, ἵνα τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις  
 φρονοῦσι τὰ ὑμέτερα ἐξ ἴσου γένηται τὸ παρρη-  
 σιάζεσθαι περὶ τῶν δικαίων, εἰδόσιν ὅτι, ὥσπερ τοῖς  
 πωλοῦσι Φιλίππῳ τὴν πατρίδα πάρεσθ' ἢ βοηθή-  
 15 σουσα δύναμις ἐν Ἐλατεῖᾳ, οὕτω τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς  
 ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι βουλομένοις ὑπάρχεθ' ὑμεῖς  
 178 ἔτοιμοι καὶ βοηθήσετ', εἴαν τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴῃ. μετὰ  
 ταῦτα χειροτονῆσαι κελεύω δέκα πρέσβεις, καὶ  
 ποιῆσαι τούτους κυρίους μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ  
 20 τοῦ πότε δεῖ βαδίζειν ἐκεῖσε καὶ τῆς ἐξόδου. ἐπει-  
 δὲν δ' ἔλθωσιν οἱ πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας, πῶς χρή-  
 σασθαι τῷ πράγματι παραινῶ; τούτῳ πάνυ μοι  
 προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν. μὴ δεῖσθαι Θηβαίων μηδὲν  
 (αἰσχρὸς γὰρ ὁ καιρὸς), ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι βοη-  
 25 θήσειν, ἂν κελεύωσιν, ὥς ἐκείνων μὲν ὄντων ἐν τοῖς  
 ἐσχάτοις, ἡμῶν δὲ ἄμεινον ἢ ἑκείνοι τὸ μέλλον προ-  
 ορωμένων· ἵν' εἴαν μὲν δέξωνται ταῦτα καὶ πεισθῶ-

σιν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἃ βουλόμεθα ὦμεν διωκημένοι καὶ μετὰ  
 προσχήματος ἀξίου τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα πράξωμεν,  
 ἂν δ' ἄρα μὴ συμβῇ κατατυχεῖν, ἐκείνοι μὲν αὐτοῖς  
 ἐγκαλῶσιν, ἂν τι νῦν ἐξαμαρτάνωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ μηδὲν  
 αἰσχρὸν μηδὲ ταπεινὸν ἢ πεπραγμένον.” Ταῦτα 179  
 καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπὼν κατέβην. συνεπαι- 6  
 νεσάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ οὐδενὸς εἰπόντος ἐναντίον  
 οὐδὲν οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δὲ, οὐδ'  
 ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δὲ, οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα  
 μὲν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς 10  
 διὰ πάντων ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διεξήλθον, καὶ ἔδωκ'  
 ἑμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἀπλῶς εἰς τοὺς περιεστηκότας τῇ πό-  
 λει κινδύνους. Καί μοι φέρε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τότε  
 γεγόμενον.

Καίτοι τίνα βούλει σέ, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τίνα ἑμαν- 180  
 τὸν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι θῶ; βούλει ἑμαυτὸν 16  
 μὲν, ὃν ἂν σὺ λοιδορούμενος καὶ διασύρων καλέσῃς,  
 Βάτταλον, σέ δὲ μηδ' ἥρω τὸν τυχόντα, ἀλλὰ τού-  
 των τινὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, Κρεσφόντην ἢ Κρέ-  
 οντα ἢ ὃν ἐν Κολλυτῷ ποτὲ Οἰνόμαον κακῶς ὑποκρι- 20  
 νόμενος ἐπέτριψας; τότε τοίνυν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν  
 καιρὸν ὁ Παιανιεὺς ἐγὼ Βάτταλος Οἰνομάου τοῦ  
 Κοθωκίδου σοῦ πλείονος ἀξίος ὢν ἐφάνην τῇ πα-  
 τρίδι. σὺ μὲν γε οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ χρήσιμος ἦσθα·  
 ἐγὼ δὲ πάντα, ὅσα προσῆκε τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην, 25  
 ἔπραττον. Λέγε τὸ ψήφισμά μοι.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ.

- 181 [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ναυσικλέους, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Αἰαντί-  
δος, σκιροφοριῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους  
Παιανιεύς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἔν τε  
τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ παραβαίνων φαίνεται τὰς γεγενημένας  
αὐτῷ συνθήκας πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης,  
ὑπεριδὼν τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι νομιζό-  
μενα εἶναι δίκαια, καὶ πόλεις παραιρεῖται οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προση-  
κούσας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὔσας δοριαλώτους πεποίηκεν  
οὐδὲν προαδικηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ἔν τε τῷ
- 182 παρόντι ἐπὶ πολὺ προάγει τῇ τε βίᾳ καὶ τῇ ὡμότητι. καὶ γὰρ  
Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἃς μὲν ἐμφρούρους ποιεῖ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας  
καταλύει, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐξανδραποδιζόμενος κατασκάπτει, εἰς  
ἐνίας δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ Ἑλλήνων βαρβάρους κατοικίζει ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ  
καὶ τοὺς τάφους ἐπάγων, οὐδὲν ἄλλότριον ποιῶν οὔτε τῆς ἑαυ-  
τοῦ πατρίδος οὔτε τοῦ τρόπου, καὶ τῇ νῦν αὐτῷ παρούσῃ τύχῃ  
κατακόρως χρώμενος, ἐπιλελησμένος ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ
- 183 τοῦ τυχόντος γέγονεν ἀνελπίστως μέγας. καὶ ἕως μὲν πόλεις  
ἑώρα παραιρούμενον αὐτὸν βαρβάρους καὶ ἰδίας, ὑπελάμβανεν  
ἔλαττον εἶναι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν πλημμελεῖσθαι·  
νῦν δὲ ὁρῶν Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις τὰς μὲν ὑβριζόμενας, τὰς δὲ  
ἀναστάτους γιγνομένας, δεινὸν ἡγεῖται εἶναι καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς  
τῶν προγόνων δόξης τὸ περιορᾶν τοὺς Ἑλληνας καταδουλουμέ-
- 184 νους. διὸ δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, εὐξα-  
μένους καὶ θύσαντας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἥρωσι τοῖς κατέχουσι τὴν  
πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἐνθυμηθέντας τῆς τῶν  
προγόνων ἀρετῆς, διότι περὶ πλείονος ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τῶν  
Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίαν διατηρεῖν ἢ τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα, διακοσίας  
ναῦς καθέλκειν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον ἀναπλεῖν  
ἐντὸς Πυλῶν, καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὸν ἵππαρχον τὰς  
πεζὰς καὶ τὰς ἵππικὰς δυνάμεις Ἐλευσινάδε ἐξάγειν, πέμ-  
ψαι δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας, πρῶτον

δὲ πάντων πρὸς Θηβαίους διὰ τὸ ἐγγυτάτῳ εἶναι τὸν Φίλιπ- 185  
 πον τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας, παρακαλεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς μηδὲν κατα-  
 πλαγύντας τὸν Φίλιππον ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῆς  
 τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος,  
 οὐδὲν μνησικακῶν εἴ τι πρότερον γέγονεν ἀλλότριον ταῖς πό-  
 λεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας, βοηθήσει καὶ δυνάμεσι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ  
 βέλεσι καὶ ὅπλοις, εἰδὼς ὅτι αὐτοῖς μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαμ-  
 φισβητεῖν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὐσιν Ἑλλήσι καλὸν, ὑπὸ δὲ  
 ἀλλοφύλου ἀνθρώπου ἄρχεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀποστε-  
 ρεῖσθαι ἀνάξιον εἶναι καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξης καὶ τῆς τῶν  
 προγόνων ἀρετῆς. ἔτι δὲ οὐδὲ ἀλλότριον ἡγεῖται εἶναι ὁ Ἀθη- 186  
 ναίων δῆμος τὸν Θηβαίων δῆμον οὔτε τῇ συγγενείᾳ οὔτε τῷ  
 ὁμοφύλῳ. ἀναμιμνήσκεται δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν προγόνων τῶν  
 ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τοὺς Θηβαίων προγόνους εὐεργεσίας· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς  
 Ἑρακλέους παῖδας ἀποστερουμένους ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων τῆς  
 πατρῴας ἀρχῆς κατήγαγον, τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατήσαντες τοὺς ἀντι-  
 βαίνειν πειρωμένους τοῖς Ἑρακλέους ἐκγόνοις, καὶ τὸν Οἰδί-  
 πουν καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἐκείνου ἐκπεσόντας ὑπεδεξάμεθα, καὶ ἕτερα  
 πολλὰ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει φιλάνθρωπα καὶ ἔνδοξα πρὸς Θηβαίους·  
 διόπερ οὐδὲ νῦν ἀποστήσεται ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τῶν Θηβαίοις 187  
 τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσι συμφερόντων. συνθέσθαι δὲ πρὸς  
 αὐτοὺς συμμαχίαν καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν ποιήσασθαι καὶ ὄρκους δοῦναι  
 καὶ λαβεῖν. πρέσβεις Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένης Παιανιεύς,  
 Ὑπερείδης Κλεάνδρου Σφήττιος, Μνησιθείδης Ἀντιφάνους  
 Φρεάρριος, Δημοκράτης Σωφίλου Φλυεύς, Κάλλαισχος Διο-  
 τίμου Κοθωκίδης.]

Αὕτη τῶν περὶ Θήβας ἐγένετο πραγμάτων ἀρχὴ 188  
 καὶ κατάστασις πρώτη, τὰ πρὸ τούτων εἰς ἔχθραν  
 καὶ μῖσος καὶ ἀπιστίαν τῶν πόλεων ὑπηγμένων ὑπὸ  
 τούτων. τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει  
 περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ 5

νέφος. ἦν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ δικαίου πολίτου τότε  
 δεῖξαι πᾶσιν, εἴ τι τούτων εἶχεν ἄμεινον, μὴ νῦν  
 189 ἐπιτιμᾶν. ὁ γὰρ σύμβουλος καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης,  
 οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν εἰκότες, ἐν τούτῳ πλεῖστον  
 5 ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν· ὁ μὲν γε πρὸ τῶν πραγμά-  
 των γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ δίδωσιν ἑαυτὸν ὑπεύ-  
 θυνον τοῖς πεισθεῖσι, τῇ τύχῃ, τοῖς καιροῖς, τῷ  
 βουλομένῳ· ὁ δὲ σιγήσας ἡνίκ' ἔδει λέγειν, ἂν τι  
 190 δύσκολον συμβῇ, τοῦτο βασκαίνει. ἦν μὲν οὖν,  
 10 ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐκείνος ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ γε φροντίζοντος  
 ἀνδρὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγων· ἐγὼ δὲ  
 τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποιοῦμαι ὥστε, ἂν νῦν ἔχῃ τις  
 δεῖξαί τι βέλτιον, ἢ ὅλως εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐνῆν πλὴν ὧν  
 ἐγὼ προειλόμην, ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογῶ. εἰ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅ  
 15 τι τις νῦν ἐόρακεν, ὃ συνήνεγκεν ἂν τότε πραχθέν,  
 τοῦτ' ἐγὼ φημι δεῖν ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν. εἰ δὲ μήτ' ἔστι  
 μήτε ἦν μήτ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι μηδεὶς μηδέπω καὶ τήμε-  
 ρον, τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν; οὐ τῶν φαινο-  
 191 μένων καὶ ἐνόντων τὰ κράτιστα ἐλέσθαι; τοῦτο  
 20 τοίνυν ἐποίησα ἐγὼ, τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος, Αἰσχί-  
 νη, “τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται,” οὐ “τίς αἰτιᾶσθαι  
 περὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων,” οὐδὲ “τίς ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὰ  
 μέλλοντ' ἔσεσθαι.” σοῦ δ' ἀφώνου κατ' ἐκείνους  
 τοὺς χρόνους ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καθημένου ἐγὼ  
 25 παριὼν ἔλεγον. ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐ τότε, ἀλλὰ νῦν δεῖξον.  
 εἰπέ τίς ἢ λόγος, ὅντιν' ἐχρῆν εὐρεῖν, ἢ καιρὸς  
 συμφέρων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παρελείφθη τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ

συμμαχία, τίς πρᾶξις, ἐφ' ἣν μάλλον ἔδει με ἀγαγεῖν τουτουσί;

Ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθὸς αἰὲ παρὰ πᾶσιν 192  
ἀφείται, καὶ οὐδεὶς περὶ τούτου προτίθῃσιν οὐδαμοῦ  
βουλὴν· τὸ δὲ μέλλον ἢ τὸ παρὸν τὴν τοῦ συμβού- 5  
λου τάξιν ἀπαιτεῖ. τότε τοίνυν τὰ μὲν ἔμελλεν, ὡς  
ἐδόκει, τῶν δεινῶν, τὰ δ' ἤδη παρῆν, ἐν οἷς τὴν  
προαίρεσίν μου σκόπει τῆς πολιτείας, μὴ τὰ συμ-  
βάντα συκοφάντει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέρασ, ὡς ἂν ὁ  
δαίμων βουλευθῇ, πάντων γίγνεται· ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις 10  
αὐτὴ τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου διάνοιαν δηλοῖ. μὴ δὲ τοῦτο 193  
ὡς ἀδίκημα ἐμὸν θῆς, εἰ κρατῆσαι συνέβη Φιλίππῳ  
τῇ μάχῃ· ἐν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τὸ τούτου τέλος ἦν, οὐκ  
ἐν ἐμοί. ἀλλ' ὡς οὐχ ἅπαντα ὅσα ἐνῆν κατ' ἀνθρώ-  
πινον λογισμὸν εἰλόμην, καὶ δικαίως ταῦτα καὶ ἐπι- 15  
μελῶς ἔπραξα καὶ φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, ἢ ὡς  
οὐ καλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄξια πράγματα ἐνεστησά-  
μην καὶ ἀναγκαῖα, ταῦτά μοι δείξον, καὶ τότε ἤδη  
κατηγόρει μου. εἰ δ' ὁ συμβὰς σκηπτὸς μὴ μόνον 194  
ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μεί- 20  
ζων γέγονε, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν; ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ναύκληρον  
πάντ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πράξαντα, καὶ πᾶσι κατασκευά-  
σαντα τὸ πλοῖον ἀφ' ᾧ ὑπελάμβανε σωθήσεσθαι,  
εἶτα χειμῶνι χρησάμενον καὶ πονησάντων αὐτῷ  
τῶν σκευῶν ἢ καὶ συντριβέντων ὅλως, τῆς ναυαγίας 25  
αἰτιῶτο. ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἐκυβέρνηων τὴν ναῦν, φήσειεν  
αὖν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐστρατήγουν ἐγὼ, οὔτε τῆς τύχης

195 κύριος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη τῶν πάντων. ἀλλ' ἐκείνο  
 λογίζου καὶ ὄρα, εἰ μετὰ Θηβαίων ἡμῖν ἀγωνιζομέ-  
 νοις οὕτως εἴμαρτο πράξαι, τί χρῆν προσδοκᾶν, εἰ  
 μηδὲ τούτους ἔσχομεν συμμάχους, ἀλλὰ Φιλίππου  
 5 προσέθεντο, ὑπὲρ οὗ τότ' ἐκείνος πάσας ἀφήκε φω-  
 νάς; καὶ εἰ νῦν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς  
 ὁδὸν τῆς μάχης γενομένης τοσοῦτος κίνδυνος καὶ  
 φόβος περιέστη τὴν πόλιν, τί ἂν, εἴ ποὺ τῆς χώρας  
 ταῦτὸ τοῦτο πάθος συνέβη, προσδοκῆσαι χρῆν; ἄρ'  
 10 οἷσθ' ὅτι νῦν μὲν στήναι, συνελθεῖν, ἀναπνεῦσαι,  
 πολλὰ μία ἡμέρα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἔδοσαν τῶν εἰς  
 σωτηρίαν τῇ πόλει, τότε δ' —, οὐκ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, ἅ  
 γε μηδὲ πείραν ἔδωκε θεῶν τινὸς εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τῷ προ-  
 βαλέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἧς σὺ  
 15 κατηγορεῖς.

196 Ἔστι δὲ ταυτὶ πάντα μοι, τὰ πολλὰ, πρὸς ὑμᾶς,  
 ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ τοὺς περιεστηκότας ἔξωθεν  
 καὶ ἀκροωμένους, ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε τοῦτον τὸν κατὰ-  
 πτυστον βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς ἐξήρκει λόγος. εἰ μὲν  
 20 γὰρ ἦν σοὶ πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα, Αἰσχίνη, μόνῳ  
 τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτ' ἐβουλευέθ' ἡ πόλις περὶ τούτων,  
 τότ' ἔδει προλέγειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ προήδεις, τῆς αὐτῆς  
 ἀγνοίας ὑπεύθυνος εἶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε τί μᾶλλον  
 197 ἐμοῦ σὺ ταῦτα κατηγορεῖς ἢ ἐγὼ σοῦ; τοσοῦτον  
 25 γὰρ ἀμείνων ἐγὼ σοῦ πολίτης γέγονα εἰς αὐτὰ ταῦθ'  
 ἃ λέγω (καὶ οὐπω περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαλέγομαι)  
 ὅσον ἐγὼ μὲν ἔδωκα ἑμαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκούντα



συμφέρειν, οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὀκνήσας ἴδιον οὐδ' ὑπο-  
 λογισάμενος, σὺ δὲ οὐθ' ἕτερα εἶπες βελτίω τούτων  
 (οὐ γὰρ ἂν τούτοις ἐχρῶντο), οὐτ' εἰς ταῦτα χρήσι-  
 μον οὐδὲν σαυτὸν παρέσχες, ὅπερ δ' ἂν ὁ φαυλότα-  
 τος καὶ δυσμενέστατος ἄνθρωπος τῇ πόλει, τοῦτο 5  
 πεποιηκῶς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβάσιν ἐξήτασαι, καὶ ἅμα  
 Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Νάξῳ καὶ Ἀριστόλεως ἐν Θάσῳ, οἱ  
 καθάπαξ ἐχθροὶ τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς Ἀθηναίων κρί-  
 νουσι φίλους καὶ Ἀθήνησιν Αἰσχίνης Δημοσθένους  
 κατηγορεῖ. καίτοι ὅτῳ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχή- 198  
 ματα ἐνευδοκιμεῖν ἀπέκειτο, ἀπολωλέναι μᾶλλον 11  
 οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἢ κατηγορεῖν ἐτέρου· καὶ ὅτῳ  
 συνενηνόχασιν οἱ αὐτοὶ καιροὶ καὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως  
 ἐχθροῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τοῦτον εὖνουν εἶναι τῇ πατρίδι.  
 δηλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὧν ζῆς καὶ ποιεῖς καὶ πολιτεύει 15  
 καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολιτεύει. πράττεται τι τῶν ὑμῖν  
 δοκούντων συμφέρειν, ἄφωνος Αἰσχίνης. ἀντέ-  
 κρουσέ τι καὶ γέγονεν οἶον οὐκ ἔδει, πάρεστιν  
 Αἰσχίνης· ὥσπερ τὰ ῥήγματα καὶ τὰ σπάσματα,  
 ὅταν τι κακὸν τὸ σῶμα λάβῃ, τότε κινεῖται. 20

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολὺς τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ἔγκειται, βού- 199  
 λομαί τι καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν. καί μου πρὸς Διὸς  
 καὶ θεῶν μηδεὶς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ, ἀλλὰ μετ'  
 εὐνοίας ὃ λέγω θεωρησάτω. εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἅπασι πρό-  
 δηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι, καὶ προήδεσαν πάντες, 25  
 καὶ σὺ προὔλεγες, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ διεμαρτύρου βοῶν  
 καὶ κεκραγῶς, ὅς οὐδ' ἐφθέγξω, οὐδ' οὕτως ἀποστατέον

τῇ πόλει τούτων ἦν, εἴπερ δόξης ἢ προγόνων ἢ τοῦ  
 200 μέλλοντος αἰῶνος εἶχε λόγον. νῦν μὲν γε ἀποτυ-  
 χεῖν δοκεῖ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃ πᾶσι κοινόν ἐστιν  
 ἀνθρώποις, ὅταν τῷ θεῷ ταῦτα δοκῇ· τότε δ' ἀξι-  
 5 οὔσα προεστάναι τῶν ἄλλων, εἴτ' ἀποστᾶσα τού-  
 του, Φιλίππῳ προδεδωκέναι πάντας ἂν ἔσχεν αἰτίαν.  
 εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα προείτο ἀκονιτὶ, περὶ ὧν οὐδένα κίνδυ-  
 νον ὄντιν' οὐχ ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι, τίς οὐχὶ κατέ-  
 201 πτυσεν ἂν σοῦ; μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως γε, μηδ' ἐμοῦ.  
 10 τίσι δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς πρὸς Διὸς ἐωρῶμεν ἂν τοὺς εἰς  
 τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνουμένους, εἰ τὰ μὲν  
 πράγματ' εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ περιέστη, ἡγεμῶν δὲ καὶ  
 κύριος ἡρέθη Φίλιππος ἀπάντων, τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 μὴ γενέσθαι ταῦτ' ἀγῶνα ἕτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἦσαν  
 15 πεποιημένοι, καὶ ταῦτα μηδεπώποτε τῆς πόλεως ἐν  
 τοῖς ἔμπροσθε χρόνοις ἀσφάλειαν ἄδοξον μᾶλλον ἢ  
 202 τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν κίνδυνον ἡρημένης. τίς γὰρ  
 οὐκ οἶδεν Ἑλλήνων, τίς δὲ βαρβάρων, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ  
 Θηβαίων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔτι τούτων πρότερον ἰσχυ-  
 20 ρῶν γενομένων Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περ-  
 σῶν βασιλέως μετὰ πολλῆς χάριτος τοῦτ' ἂν ἀσμέ-  
 νως ἐδόθη τῇ πόλει, ὃ τι βούλεται λαβούσῃ καὶ τὰ  
 ἑαυτῆς ἐχούσῃ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιεῖν καὶ ἑᾶν ἕτερον  
 203 τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεστάναι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν ταῦθ', ὥς  
 25 ἔοικε, τοῖς τότε Ἀθηναίοις πάτρια οὐδ' ἀνεκτὰ οὐδ'  
 ἔμφυτα, οὐδ' ἐδυνήθη πώποτε τὴν πόλιν οὐδεὶς ἐκ  
 παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πείσαι τοῖς ἰσχύουσι μὲν, μὴ

δίκαια δὲ πράττουσι προσθεμένην ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύ-  
 ειν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιζομένη περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ  
 δόξης κινδυνεύουσα πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα διατετέλεκε.  
 καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω σεμνὰ καὶ προσήκοντα τοῖς ὑμετέ- 204  
 ροις ἤθεσιν ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε εἶναι ὥστε καὶ τῶν 5  
 προγόνων τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας μάλιστ' ἐπαινείτε,  
 εἰκότως. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιο τῶν ἀνδρῶν  
 ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρετῆς, οἱ καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν  
 ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπέμειναν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβάντες ὑπὲρ  
 τοῦ μὴ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιῆσαι, τὸν μὲν ταῦτα συμ- 10  
 βουλευσάντα Θεμιστοκλέα στρατηγὸν ἐλόμενοι, τὸν  
 δ' ὑπακούειν ἀποφηνάμενον τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις  
 Κυρσίλον καταλιθώσαντες, οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ ὑμέτεραι τὴν γυναῖκ' αὐτοῦ. οὐ 205  
 γὰρ ἐξήτουν οἱ τότε Ἀθηναῖοι οὔτε ῥήτορα οὔτε 15  
 στρατηγὸν δι' ὅτου δουλεύσουσιν εὐτυχῶς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ  
 ζῆν ἠξίουں, εἰ μὴ μετ' ἐλευθερίας ἐξέσται τοῦτο  
 ποιεῖν. ἡγεῖτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ  
 καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μόνον γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρί-  
 δι. διαφέρει δὲ τίς; ὅτι ὁ μὲν τοῖς γονεῦσι μόνον 20  
 γεγενῆσθαι νομίζων τὸν τῆς εἰμαρμένης καὶ τὸν  
 αὐτόματον θάνατον περιμένει, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι  
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἐπιδεῖν δουλεύουσιν ἀποθνή-  
 σκειν ἐθέλῃσει, καὶ φοβερωτέρας ἡγήσεται τὰς  
 ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, ἅς ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει 25  
 φέρειν ἀνάγκη, τοῦ θανάτου.

Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν, ὥς ἐγὼ 206

προήγαγον ὑμᾶς ἄξια τῶν προγόνων φρονεῖν, οὐκ ἔσθ'  
 ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήσειέ μοι. νῦν δ' ἐγὼ μὲν  
 ὑμετέρας τὰς τοιαύτας προαιρέσεις ἀποφαίνω, καὶ  
 δείκνυμι ὅτι καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦτ' εἶχε τὸ φρόνημα ἡ  
 5 πόλις, τῆς μέντοι διακονίας τῆς ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τῶν πε-  
 207πραγμένων καὶ ἐμαυτῷ μετεῖναί φημι, οὗτος δὲ τῶν  
 ὅλων κατηγορῶν, καὶ κελεύων ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ πικρῶς ἔχειν  
 ὡς φόβων καὶ κινδύνων αἰτίῳ τῇ πόλει, τῆς μὲν εἰς  
 τὸ παρὸν τιμῆς ἐμὲ ἀποστερηῆσαι γλίσχεται, τὰ δ' εἰς  
 10 ἅπαντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐγκώμια ὑμῶν ἀφαιρεῖ-  
 ται. εἰ γὰρ ὡς οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα ἐμοῦ πολιτευσαμέ-  
 νου τουδὲ καταψηφιεῖσθε, ἡμαρτηκέναι δόξετε, οὐ  
 τῇ τῆς τύχης ἀγνωμοσύνη τὰ συμβάντα παθεῖν.  
 208 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἡμάρτετε, ἄνδρες  
 15 Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας καὶ  
 σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι, μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι  
 προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλα-  
 ταιαῖς παραταξαμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυ-  
 μαχήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ καὶ πολλοὺς  
 20 ἐτέρους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι κειμένους  
 ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἅπαντας ὁμοίως ἡ πόλις τῆς  
 αὐτῆς ἀξιώσασα τιμῆς ἔθαψεν, Αἰσχίνῃ, οὐχὶ τοὺς  
 κατορθώσαντας αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τοὺς κρατήσαντας μό-  
 νους. δικαίως. ὃ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν  
 25 ἔργον, ἅπασι πέπρακται· τῇ τύχῃ δ', ἣν ὁ δαίμων  
 209 ἔνειμεν ἐκάστοις, ταύτῃ κέχρηται. ἔπειτ', ὧ κατὰ-  
 ρατε καὶ γραμματοκύφων, σὺ μὲν τῆς παρὰ τουτωνὶ

τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἔμ' ἀποστερῆσαι βουλόμε-  
 νος τρόπαια καὶ μάχας καὶ παλαιὰ ἔργα ἔλεγες, ὧν  
 τίνος προσεδείτο ὁ παρὼν ἀγὼν οὐτοσί; ἐμὲ δὲ, ὦ  
 τριταγωνιστὰ, τὸν περὶ τῶν πρωτείων σύμβουλον  
 τῇ πόλει παριόντα τὸ τίνος φρόνημα λαβόντ' ἀνα- 5  
 βαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ἔδει; τὸ τοῦ τούτων ἀνάξια 210  
 ἑροῦντος; δικαίως μὲντ' ἂν ἀπέθανον. ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ὑμᾶς,  
 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας δεῖ τὰς  
 τε ἰδίας δίκας καὶ τὰς δημοσίας κρίνειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ  
 μὲν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου συμβόλαια ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων 10  
 νόμων καὶ ἔργων σκοποῦντας, τὰς δὲ κοινὰς προαι-  
 ρέσεις εἰς τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἀξιώματα ἀποβλέπον-  
 τας. καὶ παράλαμβάνειν γε ἅμα τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ  
 τῷ συμβόλῳ τὸ φρόνημα τὸ τῆς πόλεως νομίζειν  
 ἕκαστον ὑμῶν δεῖ, ὅταν τὰ δημόσια εἰσίσητε κρινού- 15  
 ντες, εἴπερ ἄξια ἐκείνων πράττειν οἴεσθε χρήναι.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς 211  
 προγόνοις ὑμῶν ἔστιν ἅ τῶν ψήφισμάτων παρέβην  
 καὶ τῶν πραχθέντων. ἐπανελθεῖν οὖν, ὁπόθεν εἰς  
 ταῦτ' ἐξέβην, βούλομαι. 20

Ὡς γὰρ ἀφικόμεθ' εἰς τὰς Θήβας, κατελαμβάνο-  
 μεν Φιλίππου καὶ Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμά-  
 χων παρόντας πρέσβεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡμετέρους  
 φίλους ἐν φόβῳ, τοὺς δ' ἐκείνου θρασεῖς. ὅτι δ'  
 οὐ νῦν ταῦτα λέγω τοῦ συμφέροντος ἕνεκα ἑμαυτῷ 25  
 λέγε μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν τότε ἐπέμψαμεν εὐθὺς  
 οἱ πρέσβεις. καίτοι τοσαύτη γ' ὑπερβολῇ συκο- 212

φαντίας οὗτος κέχρηται ὥστ', εἰ μὲν τι τῶν δεόντων  
 ἐπράχθη, τὸν καιρὸν, οὐκ ἐμέ φησιν αἴτιον γεγε-  
 νῆσθαι, τῶν δ' ὡς ἐτέρως συμβάντων ἀπάντων ἐμέ  
 καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην αἰτίαν εἶναι. καὶ ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ  
 5 σύμβουλος καὶ ῥήτωρ ἐγὼ τῶν μὲν ἐκ λόγου καὶ  
 τοῦ βουλευέσασθαι πραχθέντων οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ συν-  
 αἴτιος εἶναι δοκῶ, τῶν δ' ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν  
 στρατηγίαν ἀτυχηθέντων μόνος αἴτιος εἶναι. πῶς  
 ἂν ὠμότερος συκοφάντης γένοιτ' ἢ καταρατότερος ;  
 10 λέγε τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

## ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

213 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποίησαντο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσ-  
 ἦγον ἐκείνους προτέρους διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν συμμάχων  
 τάξιν ἐκείνους ἔχειν. καὶ παρελθόντες ἐδημηγόρουν  
 πολλὰ μὲν Φίλιππον ἐγκωμιάζοντες, πολλὰ δ' ὑμῶν  
 15 κατηγοροῦντες, πάνθ' ὅσα πώποτ' ἐναντία ἐπράξατε  
 Θηβαίοις ἀναμιμνήσκοντες. τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον,  
 ἡξίουں ὦν μὲν εὖ πεπόνθεσαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου χάριν αὐ-  
 τοὺς ἀποδοῦναι, ὦν δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἡδίκηντο δίκην λαβεῖν,  
 ὁποτέρως βούλονται, ἢ διέντας αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἢ  
 20 συνεμβалόντας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ ἐδείκνυσαν, ὡς  
 ᾤοντο, ἐκ μὲν ὦν αὐτοὶ συνεβούλευον τὰ ἐκ τῆς  
 Ἀττικῆς βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ τᾶλλ'  
 ἀγαθὰ εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἡξοντα, ἐκ δὲ ὦν ἡμᾶς ἐρεῖν  
 ἔφασαν τὰ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ διαρπασθησόμενα ὑπὸ  
 25 τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις, εἰς

ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συντείνοντ' ἔλεγον. ἃ δ' ἡμεῖς 214  
 πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντεῖπομεν, τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα ἐγὼ  
 μὲν ἀντὶ παντὸς ἂν τιμησαίμην εἰπεῖν τοῦ βίου,  
 ὑμᾶς δὲ δέδοικα, μὴ παρεληλυθότων τῶν καιρῶν,  
 ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ κατακλυσμὸν γεγενῆσθαι τῶν πραγ- 5  
 μάτων ἡγούμενοι, μάταιον ὄχλον τοὺς περὶ τούτων  
 λόγους νομίσητε· ὅ τι δ' οὖν ἐπέισαμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ  
 ἃ ἡμῖν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀκούσατε. Λέγε ταυτὶ λαβὼν.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ.

Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐκάλουν ὑμᾶς καὶ μετεπέμ- 215  
 ποντο. ἐξῆγτε, ἐβοηθεῖτε, ἵνα τὰν μέσῳ παραλείπω, 10  
 οὕτως οἰκείως ὑμᾶς ἐδέχοντο ὥστ' ἔξω τῶν ὀπλιτῶν  
 καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ὄντων εἰς τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ ἄστυ  
 δέχεσθαι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ  
 τὰ τιμιώτατα. καίτοι τρία ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ  
 πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν ἐγκώμια Θηβαῖοι καθ' 15  
 ὑμῶν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἐν μὲν ἀνδρείας, ἕτερον δὲ δικαιο-  
 σύνης, τρίτον δὲ σωφροσύνης. καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα  
 μεθ' ὑμῶν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι  
 καὶ ἀμείνους εἶναι καὶ δικαιότερ' ἀξιοῦν ὑμᾶς ἔκριναν  
 Φιλίππου· καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι δ' ἐν 20  
 πλείστη φυλακῇ, παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐφ' ὑμῖν  
 ποιήσαντες σωφροσύνης πίστιν περὶ ὑμῶν ἔχοντες  
 ἔδειξαν. ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ γ' 216  
 ὑμᾶς ὀρθῶς ἐφάνησαν ἐγνωκότες. οὔτε γὰρ εἰς τὴν  
 πόλιν εἰσελθόντος τοῦ στρατοπέδου οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν 25



οὐδὲ ἀδίκως ὑμῖν ἐνεκάλεσεν· οὕτω σώφρονας πα-  
 ρέσχετε ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· δῖς τε συμπαραταξιόμενοι  
 τὰς πρώτας μάχας, τήν τ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὴν  
 χειμερινήν, οὐκ ἀμέμπτους μόνον ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ  
 5 καὶ θαυμαστοὺς ἐδείξατε τῷ κόσμῳ, ταῖς παρασκευ-  
 αῖς, τῇ προθυμίᾳ. ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων  
 ὑμῖν ἐγίγνοντο ἔπαινοι, παρὰ δ' ὑμῶν θυσίαι καὶ  
 217 πομπαὶ τοῖς θεοῖς. καὶ ἔγωγε ἠδέως ἂν ἐροίμην  
 Αἰσχίνην, ὅτε ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο καὶ ζήλου καὶ χαρᾶς  
 10 καὶ ἐπαίνων ἢ πόλις ἦν μεστὴ, πότερον συνέθυε  
 καὶ συνευφραίνετο τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἢ λυπούμενος καὶ  
 στένων καὶ δυσμεναίνων τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οἴκοι  
 καθῆτο. εἰ μὲν γὰρ παρῆν καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξη-  
 τάζετο, πῶς οὐ δεινὰ ποιεῖ, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδ' ὅσια, εἰ  
 15 ὧν ὡς ἀρίστων αὐτὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐποιήσατο μάρτυ-  
 ρας, ταῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ἄριστα νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῖ ψηφί-  
 σασθαι τοὺς ὁμωμοκότας τοὺς θεοὺς; εἰ δὲ μὴ  
 παρῆν, πῶς οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι πολλάκις ἐστὶ δίκαιος,  
 εἰ ἐφ' οἷς ἔχαιρον οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτα ἐλυπεῖτο ὁρῶν;  
 20 Λέγε δὴ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΘΥΣΙΩΝ.

218 Οὐκ οὖν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν θυσίαις ἤμεν τότε, Θηβαῖοι  
 δ' ἐν τῷ δι' ἡμᾶς σεσῶσθαι νομίζειν, καὶ περιειστή-  
 κει τοῖς βοηθείας δεήσεσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπρατ-  
 τον οὗτοι, αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν ἐτέροις ἐξ ὧν ἐπείσθητ'  
 25 ἐμοί. ἀλλὰ μὴν οἷας τότε ἠφίει φωνὰς ὁ Φίλιππος

καὶ ἐν οἷαίς ἦν ταραχαῖς ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστο-  
λῶν τῶν ἐκείνου μαθήσεσθε ὧν εἰς Πελοπόννησον  
ἔπεμπευ. καὶ μοι λέγε ταύτας λαβὼν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ἡ  
ἐμὴ συνέχεια καὶ πλάνοι καὶ ταλαιπωρίαι καὶ τὰ  
πολλὰ ψηφίσματα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τί ἀπειργά- 5  
σατο.

Καίτοι πολλοὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γεγό- 219  
νασι ῥήτορες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι πρὸ ἐμοῦ, Καλ-  
λίστρατος ἐκείνος, Ἀριστοφῶν, Κέφαλος, Θρασύ-  
βουλος, ἕτεροι μυρίοι· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς πώποτε 10  
τούτων διὰ παντὸς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς οὐδὲν τῇ πόλει,  
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν γράφων οὐκ ἂν ἐπρέσβευσεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσ-  
βεύων οὐκ ἂν ἔγραψεν. ὑπέλειπε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος  
ἑαυτῷ ἅμα μὲν ῥαστώνην, ἅμα δ', εἴ τι γένοιτ', ἀνα-  
φοράν. τί οὖν; εἴποι τις ἂν, σὺ τοσοῦτον ὑπερήρας 220  
τοὺς ἄλλους ῥώμη καὶ τόλμῃ ὥστε πάντα ποιεῖν αὐτός; 16  
οὐ ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐπεπείσμην μέγαν εἶναι  
τὸν κατειληφότα κίνδυνον τὴν πόλιν ὥστ' οὐκ ἔδόκει  
μοι χώραν οὐδὲ πρόνοιαν οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας  
διδόναι, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι, εἰ μηδὲν παραλιπὼν 20  
τις ἃ δεῖ πράξειεν. ἐπεπείσμην δ' ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ, 221  
τυχὸν μὲν ἀναισθητῶν, ὅμως δ' ἐπεπείσμην, μήτε  
γράφοντ' ἂν ἐμοῦ γράψαι βέλτιον μηδένα, μήτε  
πράττοντα πράξαι, μήτε πρεσβεύοντα πρεσβεῦσαι  
προθυμότερον μηδὲ δικαιότερον. διὰ ταῦτα ἐν πα- 25  
σιν ἑμαυτὸν ἔταττον. Λέγε τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς τοῦ  
Φιλίππου.

## ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

222 Εἰς ταῦτα κατέστησε Φίλιππον ἡ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, Αἰσχίνη· ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἐκείνος ἀφῆκε, πολλοὺς καὶ θρασεῖς τὰ πρὸ τούτων τῇ πόλει ἐπαιρόμενος λόγους. ἀνθ' ὧν δικαίως ἐστεφανούμην ὑπὸ του-  
 5 τῶνι, καὶ σὺ παρὼν οὐκ ἀντέλεγες, ὁ δὲ γραψόμενος Διώνδας τὸ μέρος τῶν ψηφίων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. Καί μοι λέγε ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ τότε μὲν ἀποπε-  
 φευγότα, ὑπὸ τούτου δ' οὐδὲ γραφέντα.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

223 Ταυτὶ τὰ ψηφίσματ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰς  
 10 αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς καὶ ταῦτ' ῥήματ' ἔχει ἅπερ πρότε-  
 ρον μὲν Ἀριστόνικος, νῦν δὲ Κτησιφῶν γέγραφεν  
 οὕτοσί. καὶ ταῦτ' Αἰσχίνης οὗτ' ἐδίωξεν αὐτὸς οὔτε  
 τῷ γραψαμένῳ συγκατηγόρησεν. καίτοι τότε τὸν  
 Δημομέλην τὸν ταῦτα γράφοντα καὶ τὸν Ὑπερείδην,  
 15 εἴπερ ἀληθῇ μου νῦν κατηγορεῖ, μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως  
 224 ἢ τόνδ' ἐδίωκεν. διὰ τί; ὅτι τῷδε μὲν ἔστ' ἀνε-  
 νεγκεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνους καὶ τὰς τῶν δικαστηρίων γνώ-  
 σεις καὶ τὸ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐκείνων μὴ κατηγορηκέναι  
 ταῦτ' ἠγνάντων ἅπερ οὗτος νυνὶ, καὶ τὸ τοὺς  
 20 νόμους μηκέτ' εἶναι περὶ τῶν οὕτω πραχθέντων κατη-  
 γορεῖν, καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα· τότε δ' αὐτὸ τὸ πράγμ'  
 ἂν ἐκρίνετο ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, πρίν τι τούτων προλαβεῖν.  
 225 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν, οἶμαι, τότε, ὃ νυνὶ ποιεῖ, ἐκ παλαιῶν

χρόνων καὶ ψηφισμάτων πολλῶν ἐκλέξαντα ἂ μίτε  
 προήδει μηδεὶς μήτ' ἂν ᾤκηται τήμερον ῥηθῆναι δια-  
 βάλλειν, καὶ μετενεγκόντα τοὺς χρόνους καὶ προ-  
 φάσεις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν ψευδεῖς μεταθέντα τοῖς  
 πεπραγμένοις δοκεῖν τι λέγειν. οὐκ ἦν τότε ταῦτα, 226  
 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐγγὺς τῶν ἔργων, ἔτι μεμνη- 6  
 μένων ὑμῶν καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἕκαστα  
 ἐχόντων, πάντες ἐγίνοντο' ἂν οἱ λόγοι. διόπερ τοὺς  
 παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματ' ἐλέγχους φυγῶν νῦν ἡκει,  
 ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα νομίζων, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ οὐχὶ 10  
 τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἐξέτασιν ποιήσειν ὑμᾶς, καὶ  
 λόγου κρίσιν, οὐχὶ τοῦ τῇ πόλει συμφέροντος  
 ἕσεσθαι.

Εἶτα σοφίζεται, καὶ φησὶ προσήκειν, ἧς μὲν 227  
 οἴκοθεν ἤκετ' ἔχοντες δόξης περὶ ἡμῶν ἀμελήσαι, 15  
 ὥσπερ δ', ὅταν οἰόμενοι περιεῖναι χρήματά τῳ λο-  
 γίζησθε, ἂν καθαραὶ ᾖσιν αἱ ψῆφοι καὶ μηδὲν περιῇ,  
 συγχωρεῖτε, οὕτω καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ λόγου φαινομέ-  
 νοις προσθέσθαι. θεάσασθε τοίνυν ὡς σαθρὸν, ὡς  
 ἔοικεν, ἔστι φύσει πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν μὴ δικαίως ἢ πεπραγ- 20  
 μένον. ἐκ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σοφοῦ τούτου παραδείγ- 228  
 ματος ὡμολόγηκε νῦν γ' ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσμένους  
 ἐμὲ μὲν λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, αὐτὸν δ' ὑπὲρ  
 Φιλίππου· οὐ γάρ ἂν μεταπείθειν ὑμᾶς ἐξήτει μὴ  
 τοιαύτης οὔσης τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως περὶ 25  
 ἑκατέρου. καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ δίκαια λέγει μεταθέ- 229  
 σθαι ταύτην τὴν δόξαν ἀξιῶν, ἐγὼ διδάξω ῥαδίως, οὐ

τιθεὶς ψήφους (οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων  
 οὗτος λογισμός), ἀλλ' ἀναμιμνήσκων ἕκαστα ἐν  
 βραχέσι, λογισταῖς ἅμα καὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς ἀκούου-  
 230 σιν ὑμῖν χρώμενος. ἡ γὰρ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, ἧς οὗτος  
 5 κατηγορεῖ, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ Θηβαίου μετὰ Φιλίππου  
 συνεμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν χώραν, ὃ πάντες ὄοντο, μεθ'  
 ἡμῶν παραταξαμένους ἐκείνουν κωλύειν ἐποίησεν,  
 ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι ἑπτα-  
 κόσια στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοῖς Βοιωτῶν  
 10 ὀρίοις γενέσθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τοὺς ληστὰς ἡμᾶς φέ-  
 ρειν καὶ ἄγειν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὴν Ἀττι-  
 κὴν ἐκ θαλάττης εἶναι πάντα τὸν πόλεμον, ἀντὶ δὲ  
 τοῦ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔχειν Φίλιππον, λαβόντα  
 Βυζάντιον, συμπολεμεῖν τοὺς Βυζαντίους μεθ' ἡμῶν  
 231 πρὸς ἐκείνουν. ἄρά σοι ψήφοις ὅμοιος ὁ τῶν ἔργων  
 16 λογισμὸς φαίνεται; ἡ δεῖν ἀντανελεῖν ταῦτα, ἀλλ'  
 οὐχ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μνημονευθήσεται σκέ-  
 ψασθαι; καὶ οὐκέτι προστίθημι ὅτι τῆς μὲν ὠμό-  
 τητος, ἣν ἐν οἷς καθάπαξ τινῶν κύριος κατέστη  
 20 Φίλιππος ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἑτέροις πειραθῆναι συνέβη,  
 τῆς δὲ φιλανθρωπίας, ἣν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν πραγμάτων  
 ἐκεῖνος περιβαλλόμενος ἐπλάττετο, ὑμεῖς καλῶς ποι-  
 οῦντες τοὺς καρποὺς κεκόμισθε. ἀλλ' ἐὼ ταῦτα.  
 232 Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὀκνήσω, ὅτι ὁ τὸν  
 25 ῥήτορα βουλόμενος δικαίως ἐξετάζειν καὶ μὴ συκο-  
 φαντεῖν, οὐκ ἂν οἶα σὺ νῦν ἔλεγες, τοιαῦτα κατηγο-  
 ρεῖ, παραδείγματα πλάττων καὶ ῥήματα καὶ σχή-

ματα μιμούμενος (πάνυ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦτο, οὐχ ὁρᾷς ; γέγονε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰ τουτὶ τὸ ῥῆμα, ἀλλὰ μὴ τουτὶ διελέχθην ἐγὼ, ἢ δευρὶ τὴν χεῖρα, ἀλλὰ μὴ δευρὶ παρήνευκα), ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων 233 ἂν ἐσκόπει τίνας εἶχεν ἀφορμὰς ἢ πόλεις καὶ τίνας 5 δυνάμεις, ὅτ' εἰς τὰ πράγματ' εἰσῆιν, καὶ τίνας συνήγαγον αὐτῇ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπιστάς ἐγὼ, καὶ πῶς εἶχε τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων. εἴτ' εἰ μὲν ἐλάττους ἐποίησα τὰς δυνάμεις, παρ' ἐμοὶ τὰ δίκημ' ἂν ἐδείκνυνεν ὄν, εἰ δὲ πολλῶ μείζους, οὐκ ἂν ἐσυκοφάντει. ἐπειδὴ δὲ 10 σὺ τοῦτο πέφευγας, ἐγὼ ποιήσω· καὶ σκοπεῖτε εἰ δικαίως χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ.

Δύναμιν μὲν τοίνυν εἶχεν ἢ πόλεις τοὺς νησιώτας, 234 οὐχ ἅπαντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους· οὔτε γὰρ Χίος οὔτε Ῥόδος οὔτε Κέρκυρα μεθ' ἡμῶν ἦν· 15 χρημάτων δὲ σύνταξιν εἰς πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν προεξειλεγμένα· ὀπλίτην δ' ἢ ἱππέα πλὴν τῶν οἰκείων οὐδένα. ὃ δὲ πάντων καὶ φοβερώτατον καὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οὗτοι παρεσκευάκεισαν τοὺς περιχώρους πάντας 20 ἔχθρας ἢ φιλίας ἐγγυτέρω, Μεγαρέας, Θηβαίους, Εὐβοέας. τὰ μὲν τῆς πόλεως οὕτως ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα, 235 καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν ἔχοι παρὰ ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἄλλο οὐδέν· τὰ δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν, σκέψασθε πῶς. πρῶτον μὲν ἦρχε τῶν ἀκολου- 25 θούντων αὐτὸς αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν, ὃ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἀπάντων· εἴθ' οὗτοι τὰ ὅπλα

εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αἰεί· ἔπειτα χρημάτων ἡνὸρρει,  
 καὶ ἔπραττεν ἂ δόξειεν αὐτῷ, οὐ προλέγων ἐν τοῖς  
 ψηφίσμασιν, οὐδ' ἐν τῷ φανερῷ βουλευόμενος,  
 [οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν συκοφαντούντων κρινόμενος,] οὐδὲ  
 5 γραφὰς φεύγων παρανόμων, οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνος ὢν  
 οὐδενί, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς αὐτὸς δεσπότης, ἡγεμὼν, κύριος  
 236 πάντων. ἐγὼ δ' ὁ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀντιτεταγμένος  
 (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐξετάσαι δίκαιον) τίνας κύριος ἦν;  
 οὐδενός· αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ δημηγορεῖν πρῶτον, οὐ μόνου  
 10 μετεῖχον ἐγὼ, ἐξ ἴσου προϋτίθεθ' ὑμεῖς τοῖς παρ'  
 ἐκείνου μισθαρνοῦσι καὶ ἐμοὶ, καὶ ὅσα οὗτοι περι-  
 γένοιτο ἐμοῦ (πολλὰ δ' ἐγίγνετο ταῦτα, δι' ἣν  
 ἕκαστον τύχοι πρόφασιν), ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
 237 ἀπῆτε βεβουλευμένοι. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκ τοιούτων ἐλατ-  
 15 τωμάτων ἐγὼ συμμάχους μὲν ὑμῖν ἐποίησα Εὐβοέας,  
 Ἀχαιοὺς, Κορινθίους, Θηβαίους, Μεγαρέας, Λευκα-  
 δίους, Κερκυραίους, ἀφ' ὧν μύριοι μὲν καὶ πεντακισ-  
 χίλιοι ξένοι, δισχιλίοι δ' ἱππεῖς ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν  
 δυνάμεων συνήχθησαν· χρημάτων δὲ ὅσων ἐδυνήθη  
 238 ἐγὼ πλείστην συντέλειαν ἐποίησα. εἰ δὲ λέγεις ἢ τὰ  
 21 πρὸς Θηβαίους δίκαια, Αἰσχίνη, ἢ τὰ πρὸς Βυζαν-  
 τίους ἢ τὰ πρὸς Εὐβοέας, ἢ περὶ τῶν ἴσων νυνὶ  
 διαλέγει, πρῶτον μὲν ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι καὶ πρότερον τῶν  
 ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνων ἀγωνισαμένων τριήρων,  
 25 τριακοσίων οὐσῶν τῶν πασῶν, τὰς διακοσίας ἢ πό-  
 λιν παρέσχετο, καὶ οὐκ ἐλαττοῦσθαι νομίζουσα οὐδὲ  
 κρίνουσα τοὺς ταῦτα συμβουλευσάντας οὐδὲ ἀγα-



νακτοῦσα ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐωρᾶτο (αἰσχροὺς γάρ), ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔχουσα χάριν, εἰ κοινοῦ κινδύνου τοῖς Ἑλλησι περιστάντος αὐτὴ διπλάσια τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὴν ἀπάντων σωτηρίαν παρέσχετο. εἶτα κενὰς 239  
χαρίζει χάριτας τουτοισὶ συκοφαντῶν ἐμέ. τί γὰρ 5  
νῦν λέγεις οἷα ἔχρην πράττειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τότε ὦν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ παρὼν ταῦτ' ἔγραφες, εἴπερ ἐνεδέχετο παρὰ τοὺς παρόντας καιροὺς, ἐν οἷς οὐχ ὅσα ἐβουλόμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅσα δοίη τὰ πράγματ' ἔδει δέχεσθαι. ὁ γὰρ ἀντωνούμενος καὶ ταχὺ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπε- 10  
λαυννομένους προσδεξόμενος καὶ χρήματα προσθή-  
σων ὑπῆρχεν ἕτοιμος.

Ἄλλ' εἰ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις κατηγορίας 240  
ἔχω, τί ἂν οἴεσθε, εἰ τότε ἐμοῦ περὶ τούτων ἀκριβο-  
λογουμένου, ἀπῆλθον αἱ πόλεις καὶ προσέθεντο 15  
Φιλίππῳ, καὶ ἅμα Εὐβοίας καὶ Θηβῶν καὶ Βυζαν-  
τίου κύριος κατέστη, τί ποιεῖν ἂν ἢ τί λέγειν τοὺς  
ἀσεβεῖς ἀνθρώπους τουτουσί; οὐχ ὥς ἐξεδόθησαν;  
οὐχ ὥς ἀπηλάθησαν βουλόμενοι μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶναι; 241  
εἶτα τοῦ μὲν Ἑλλησπόντου διὰ Βυζαντίων ἐγκρα- 20  
τὴς καθέστηκε, καὶ τῆς σιτοπομπίας τῆς τῶν Ἑλ-  
λῆνων κύριος, πόλεμος δ' ὁμορος καὶ βαρὺς εἰς τὴν  
Ἀττικὴν διὰ Θηβαίων κεκόμισται, ἅπλους δ' ἢ θά-  
λαττα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὀρμωμένων ληστῶν  
γέγονεν; οὐκ ἂν ταῦτ' ἔλεγον, καὶ πολλά γε πρὸς 25  
τούτοις ἕτερα; πονηρὸν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πονη- 242  
ρὸν ὁ συκοφάντης αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχόθεν βάσκανον

καὶ φιλαίτιον· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ φύσει κίναδος τάνθρώ-  
 πιον ἔστιν, οὐδὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑγιὲς πεποιηκὸς οὐδ'  
 ἐλεύθερον, αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος, ἀρουραῖος Οἰνό-  
 μαος, παράσημος ῥήτωρ. τί γὰρ ἢ σὴ δεινότης εἰς  
 5 ὄνησιν ἥκει τῇ πατρίδι; νῦν ἡμῖν λέγεις περὶ τῶν  
 243 παρεληλυθότων; ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἰατρὸς ἀσθενούσι  
 μὲν τοῖς κάμνουσιν εἰσιὼν μὴ λέγοι μηδὲ δεικνύοι  
 δι' ὧν ἀποφεύξονται τὴν νόσον, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τελευτή-  
 σειέ τις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ νομιζόμεν' αὐτῷ φέροιτο, ἀκο-  
 10 λουθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα διεξίλοι “εἰ τὸ καὶ τὸ ἐποίησεν  
 ἄνθρωπος οὐτοσί, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθανεν.” ἐμβρόντητε,  
 εἶτα νῦν λέγεις;

244 Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὴν ἦτταν, εἰ ταύτῃ γαυριᾶς ἐφ'  
 ἧ στένεις σε, ὦ κατάρατε, προσῆκεν, ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν  
 15 παρ' ἐμοὶ γεγονυῖαν εὐρήσετε τῇ πόλει. οὕτως δὲ  
 λογίζεσθε. οὐδαμοῦ πώποθ', ὅποι πρεσβευτῆς  
 ἐπέμφθην ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐγὼ, ἡττηθεὶς ἀπῆλθον τῶν  
 παρὰ Φιλίππου πρέσβειων, οὐκ ἐκ Θετταλίας, οὐκ  
 ἐξ Ἀμβρακίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν, οὐ παρὰ τῶν Θρα-  
 20 κῶν βασιλέων, οὐκ ἐκ Βυζαντίου, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν οὐδα-  
 μόθεν, οὐ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐκ Θηβῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς κρα-  
 τηθεῖεν οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ τῷ λόγῳ, ταῦτα τοῖς  
 245 ὅπλοις ἐπιὼν κατεστρέφετο. ταῦτ' οὖν ἀπαιτεῖς  
 παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνει τὸν αὐτὸν εἰς τε μαλα-  
 25 κίαν σκώπτων καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου δυνάμεως ἀξιῶν  
 ἓνα ὄντα κρείττω γενέσθαι; καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς λόγοις;  
 τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου κύριος ἦν ἐγώ; οὐ γὰρ τῆς γε

ἐκάστου ψυχῆς, οὐδὲ τῆς τύχης τῶν παραταξαμέ-  
νων, οὐδὲ τῆς στρατηγίας, ἧς ἔμ' ἀπαιτεῖς εὐθύνας·  
οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὦν γ' ἂν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπεύθυ- 246  
νος εἴη, πᾶσαν ἐξέτασιν λάμβανε· οὐ παραιτοῦμαι.  
τίνα οὖν ἐστὶ ταῦτα; ἰδεῖν τὰ πράγματα ἀρχόμενα 5  
καὶ προαισθέσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις. ταῦτα  
πέπρακταί μοι. καὶ ἔτι τὰς ἐκασταχοῦ βραδυτήτας,  
ὅκνους, ἀγνοίας, φιλονεικίας, ἃ πολιτικὰ ταῖς πόλεσι  
πρόσεστιν ἀπάσαις καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἀμαρτήματα, ταῦθ'  
ὥς εἰς ἐλάχιστα συστεῖλαι, καὶ τὸναντίον εἰς ὁμό- 10  
νοϊαν καὶ φιλίαν καὶ τοῦ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ὁρμὴν  
προτρέψαι. καὶ ταῦτά μοι πάντα πεποιήται, καὶ  
οὐδεὶς μήποθ' εὗρη τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ οὐδὲν ἑλλειφθέν.  
εἰ τοίνυν τις ἔροιτο ὄντινοῦν τίσι τὰ πλείεστα Φίλιπ- 247  
πος ὦν κατέπραξε διωκῆσατο, πάντες ἂν εἴποιεν τῷ 15  
στρατοπέδῳ καὶ τῷ διδόναι καὶ διαφθείρειν τοὺς ἐπὶ  
τῶν πραγμάτων. οὐκοῦν τῶν μὲν δυνάμεων οὔτε κύ-  
ριος οὗθ' ἡγεμὼν ἦν ἐγὼ, ὥστε οὐδ' ὁ λόγος τῶν κατὰ  
ταῦτα πραχθέντων πρὸς ἐμέ. καὶ μὴν τῷ διαφθαρή-  
ναι χρήμασιν ἢ μὴ κεκράτηκα Φιλίππου· ὥσπερ γὰρ 20  
ὁ ὠνούμενος νενίκηκε τὸν λαβόντα, εἰς πρίηται, οὕτως  
ὁ μὴ λαβὼν μηδὲ διαφθαρεὶς νενίκηκε τὸν ὠνούμενον.  
ὥστε ἀήττητος ἢ πόλις τὸ κατ' ἐμέ.

Ἄ μὲν τοίνυν ἐγὼ παρεσχόμην εἰς τὸ δικαίως 248  
τοιαῦτα γράφειν τουτονὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ, πρὸς πολλοῖς 25  
ἐτέροις ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις ἐστίν· ἃ δ'  
οἱ πάντες ὑμεῖς, ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν

μάχην εὐθύς ὁ δῆμος, εἰδὼς καὶ ἑορακὼς πάντα ὅσα  
 ἔπραττον ἐγὼ, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ φοβεροῖς  
 ἐμβεβηκὼς, ἡνίκ' οὐδ' ἀγνωμονῆσαί τι θαυμαστὸν  
 ἦν τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ, πρῶτον μὲν περὶ σωτη-  
 5 ρίας τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἐμὰς γνώμας ἐχειροτόνει, καὶ  
 πάνθ' ὅσα τῆς φυλακῆς ἕνεκα ἐπράττετο, ἡ διάταξις  
 τῶν φυλάκων, αἱ τάφροι, τὰ εἰς τὰ τεῖχῃ χρήματα,  
 διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐγίγνετο· ἔπειθ' αἰρού-  
 μενος σιτώνην ἐκ πάντων ἐμὲ ἐχειροτόνησεν ὁ δῆμος.  
 249 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συστάντων οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελὲς κακῶς  
 11 ἐμὲ ποιεῖν, καὶ γραφὰς, εὐθύνας, εἰσαγγελίας, πάντα  
 ταῦτ' ἐπαγόντων μοι, οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν τό γε πρῶτον,  
 ἀλλὰ δι' ὧν μάλισθ' ὑπελάμβανον ἀγνοήσεσθαι  
 (ἴστε γὰρ δήπου καὶ μέμνησθε ὅτι τοὺς πρῶτους χρό-  
 15 νους κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐκρινόμην ἐγὼ, καὶ  
 οὐτ' ἀπόνοια Σωσικλέους οὔτε συκοφαντία Φιλοκρά-  
 τους οὔτε Διώνδου καὶ Μελάντου μανία οὐτ' ἄλλ'  
 οὐδὲν ἀπείρατον ἦν τούτοις κατ' ἐμοῦ), ἐν τοίνυν  
 τούτοις πᾶσι μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, δεύτερον  
 20 δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀθηναίους ἐσωζόμεν.  
 δικαίως· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 ὁμωμοκότων καὶ γνόντων τὰ εὖορκα δικαστῶν.  
 250 οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲν οἷς εἰσηγγελλόμην, ὅτ' ἀπεψηφίζεσθέ  
 μου καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων τοῖς διώκουσιν οὐ  
 25 μετεδίδοτε, τότε ἐψηφίξεσθε τὰ ἄριστα με πράττειν·  
 ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς γραφὰς ἀπέφευγον, ἔννομα καὶ γράφειν  
 καὶ λέγειν ἀπεδεικνύμην· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς εὐθύνας

ἐπεσημαίνεσθε, δικαίως καὶ ἀδωροδοκῆτως πάντα πεπράχθαι μοι προσωμολογεῖτε. τούτων οὖν οὕτως ἐχόντων τί προσῆκεν ἢ τί δίκαιον ἦν τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένοις θέσθαι τὸν Κτησιφῶντα ὄνομα, οὐχ ὃ τὸν δῆμον ἐώρα τιθέμενον, οὐχ ὃ τοὺς ὁμωμο- 5 κότας δικαστὰς, οὐχ ὃ τὴν ἀλήθειαν παρὰ πᾶσι βεβαιούσαν;

Ναὶ, φησὶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν, τὸ 251 μηδεμίαν γραφὴν φυγεῖν. καὶ νῆ Δί' εὐδαιμόν γε. ἀλλὰ τί μᾶλλον ὁ πολλάκις μὲν φυγὼν, μηδεπώποτε 10 δ' ἐξελεγχθεὶς ἀδικῶν ἐν ἐγκλήματι γίγνοιτ' ἂν διὰ τοῦτο δικαίως; καίτοι πρὸς γε τοῦτον, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν εἰπεῖν ἔστι μοι. οὐδεμίαν γὰρ πώποτ' ἐγράψατό με οὐδ' ἐδίωξε γραφὴν, ὥστε ὑπὸ σοῦ γε ὁμολόγημαι μηδὲν εἶναι 15 τοῦ Κεφάλου χείρων πολίτης.

Πανταχόθεν μὲν τοίνυν ἂν τις ἴδοι τὴν ἀγνωμο- 252 σύνην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν βασκανίαν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' ἀφ' ὧν περὶ τῆς τύχης διελέχθη. ἐγὼ δ' ὅλως μὲν, ὅστις ἄνθρωπος ὧν ἀνθρώπῳ τύχην πρόφέρει, ἀνόη- 20 τον ἡγοῦμαι. ἦν γὰρ ὁ βέλτιστα πράττειν νομίζων καὶ ἀρίστην ἔχειν οἰόμενος οὐκ οἶδεν εἰ μενεῖ τοιαύτη μέχρι τῆς ἐσπέρας, πῶς χρὴ περὶ ταύτης λέγειν ἢ πῶς ὀνειδίζειν ἑτέρῳ; ἐπειδὴ δ' οὗτος πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ περὶ τούτων ὑπερηφάνως χρηται τῷ 25 λόγῳ, σκέψασθ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεωρήσατε ὅσω καὶ ἀληθέστερον καὶ ἀνθρωπινώτερον ἐγὼ

- 253 περὶ τῆς τύχης τούτου διαλεχθήσομαι. ἐγὼ τὴν  
 μὲν τῆς πόλεως τύχην ἀγαθὴν ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ ταῦθ'  
 ὁρῶ καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον ἡμῖν μαντευόμενον,  
 τὴν μέντοι τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἣ νῦν ἐπέχει,  
 5 χαλεπὴν καὶ δεινὴν· τίς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ἢ τίς βαρ-  
 βάρων οὐ πολλῶν κακῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πεπεύραται;
- 254 τὸ μὲν τοίνυν προελέσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τὸ τῶν  
 οἰηθέντων Ἑλλήνων, εἰ πρόοιντο ἡμᾶς, ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ  
 διάξειν, τούτων αὐτῶν ἄμεινον πράττειν τῆς ἀγαθῆς  
 10 τύχης τῆς πόλεως εἶναι τίθημι· τὸ δὲ προσκροῦ-  
 σαι καὶ μὴ πάνθ' ὥς ἐβουλόμεθ' ἡμῖν συμβῆναι  
 τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τύχης τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐφ'
- 255 ἡμᾶς μέρος μετεληφέναι νομίζω τὴν πόλιν. τὴν δ'  
 ἰδίαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὴν ἐνὸς ἡμῶν ἐκάστου ἐν  
 15 τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐξετάζειν δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζω. ἐγὼ μὲν  
 οὖν οὕτως περὶ τῆς τύχης ἀξιῶ, ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως,  
 ὥς ἐμαυτῷ δοκῶ, νομίζω δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν  
 τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν τῆς κοινῆς τῆς πόλεως κυριώτεραν  
 εἶναί φησι, τὴν μικρὰν καὶ φαύλην τῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ  
 20 μεγάλης. καὶ πῶς ἔνι τοῦτο γενέσθαι;
- 256 Καὶ μὲν εἴ γε τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην πάντως ἐξετάζειν,  
 Αἰσχίνη, προαιρεῖ, πρὸς τὴν σεαυτοῦ σκόπει, κἂν  
 εὖρης τὴν ἐμὴν βελτίω τῆς σῆς, παῦσαι λοιδορούμε-  
 νος αὐτῇ. σκόπει τοίνυν εὐθύς ἐξ ἀρχῆς. καί μου  
 25 πρὸς Διὸς μηδεμίαν ψυχρότητα καταγνῶ μηδεῖς.  
 ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐτ' εἴ τις πενίαν προπηλακίζει, νοῦν ἔχειν  
 ἡγοῦμαι, οὐτ' εἴ τις ἐν ἀφθόνοις τραφεῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ

σεμνύνεται· ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς τουτουὶ τοῦ χαλεποῦ βλασφημίας καὶ σύκοφαντίας εἰς τοιούτους λόγους ἐμπίπτειν ἀναγκάζομαι, οἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι μετριώτατα χρήσομαι.

Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπήρξεν, Αἰσχίνης, παιδὶ μὲν 251 ὄντι φοιτᾶν εἰς τὰ προσήκοντα διδασκαλεῖα, καὶ ἔχειν ὅσα χρὴ τὸν μηδὲν αἰσχροὺν ποιήσαντα δι' ἔνδειαν, ἐξελθόντι δὲ ἐκ παίδων ἀκόλουθα τοίτοις πράττειν, χορηγεῖν, τριηραρχεῖν, εἰσφέρειν, μηδεμιάς φιλοτιμίας μήτε ἰδίας μήτε δημοσίας ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς φίλοις χρήσιμον εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσελθεῖν ἔδοξέ μοι, τοιαῦτα πολιτεύματα ἐλέσθαι ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων πολλῶν πολλὰκις ἐστεφανῶσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμᾶς, ὡς 15 οὐ καλὰ γ' ἦν ἂν προειλόμην, ἐπιχειρεῖν λέγειν. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτη συμβεβίωκα τύχη, καὶ πόλλ' 258 ἂν ἔχων ἕτερόν τι εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῆς παραλείπω, φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπησαί τινα ἐν οἷς σεμνύνομαι. σὺ δ' ὁ σεμνὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ διαπτύων τοὺς ἄλλους σκόπει 20 πρὸς ταύτην ποίᾳ τινὶ κέχρησαι τύχη, δι' ἣν παῖς μὲν ὢν μετὰ πολλῆς ἐνδείας ἐτράφη, ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς τῷ διδασκαλείῳ προσεδρεύων, τὸ μέλαν τρίβων καὶ τὰ βάθρα σπογγίζων καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖον κορῶν, οἰκέτου τάξιν, οὐκ ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς ἔχων, 25 ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος τῇ μητρὶ τελούσῃ τὰς βίβλους 259 ἀνεγίγνωσκες καὶ τἄλλα συνεσκευωροῦ, τὴν μὲν



νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς  
 τελουμένους καὶ ἀπομάττων τῷ πηλῷ καὶ τοῖς πιτύ-  
 ροις καὶ ἀνίστας ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρμοῦ κελεύων λέγειν  
 “ἔφυγον κακὸν, εὖρον ἄμεινον,” ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα πώ-  
 5 ποτε τηλικούτ’ ὀλολύξαι σεμνυνόμενος (καὶ ἔγωγε  
 νομίζω· μὴ γὰρ οἶεσθ’ αὐτὸν φθέγγεσθαι μὲν οὕτω  
 260 μέγα, ὀλολύξειν δ’ οὐχ ὑπέρλαμπρον), ἐν δὲ ταῖς  
 ἡμέραις τοὺς καλοὺς θιάσους ἄγων διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν,  
 τοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ, τοὺς  
 10 ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας θλίβων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰω-  
 ρῶν, καὶ βοῶν εὐοῖ σαβοῖ, καὶ ἐπορχούμενος ὑῆς ἄττης  
 ἄττης ὑῆς, ἔξαρχος καὶ προηγεμὼν καὶ κιδοφόρος καὶ  
 λικνοφόρος καὶ τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν γραδίων προσαγορευό-  
 μενος, μισθὸν λαμβάνων τούτων ἔνθρυπτα καὶ στρεπ-  
 15 τοὺς καὶ νεήλατα, ἐφ’ οἷς τίς οὐκ ἂν ὥς ἀληθῶς αὐτὸν  
 261 εὐδαιμονίσειε καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύχην; ἐπειδὴ δ’ εἰς  
 τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφης ὅπωςδῆποτε ἐῷ γὰρ τοῦτό  
 γε, ἐπειδὴ δ’ οὖν ἐνεγράφης, εὐθέως τὸ κάλλιστον  
 ἐξελέξω τῶν ἔργων, γραμματεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν  
 20 τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις. ὥς δ’ ἀπηλλάγης ποτὲ καὶ τούτου,  
 πάνθ’ ἃ τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορεῖς αὐτὸς ποιήσας, οὐ  
 κατήσχυνας μὰ Δί’ οὐδὲν τῶν προὑπηργμένων τῷ  
 262 μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ, ἀλλὰ μισθώσας σαυτὸν τοῖς βαρυ-  
 στόνοις ἐπικαλουμένοις ἐκείνοις ὑποκριταῖς, Σιμύλῳ  
 25 καὶ Σωκράτει, ἐτριταγωνίστεις, σῦκα καὶ βότρυς καὶ  
 ἐλάας συλλέγων ὥσπερ ὀπωρώνης ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων  
 χωρίων, πλείω λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τούτων τραύματα ἢ τῶν

ἀγώνων, οὓς ὑμεῖς περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἠγωνίζεσθε· ἦν γὰρ  
 ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος ὑμῖν πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς πό-  
 λεμος, ὑφ' ὧν πολλὰ τραύματ' εἰληφῶς εἰκότως τοὺς  
 ἀπείρους τῶν τοιούτων κινδύνων ὡς δειλοὺς σκώπ-  
 τεις. ἀλλὰ γὰρ παρεῖς ὧν τὴν πενίαν αἰτιάσαιτ' 263  
 ἂν τις, πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τοῦ τρόπου σου βαδιοῦμαι κατη- 6  
 γορήματα. τοιαύτην γὰρ εἴλου πολιτείαν, ἐπειδὴ  
 ἦτοτε καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπῆλθέ σοι ποιῆσαι, δι' ἣν εὐτυχού-  
 σης μὲν τῆς πατρίδος λαγὼ βίον ἔξης δεδιὼς καὶ τρέ-  
 μων καὶ ἀεὶ πληγῇσεσθαι προσδοκῶν ἐφ' οἷς σαρτῶ 10  
 συνῆδεις ἀδικοῦντι, ἐν οἷς δ' ἠτύχησαν οἱ ἄλλοι, θρασὺς  
 ὧν ὑφ' ἀπάντων ὤψαι. καίτοι ὅστις χιλίων πολιτῶν 264  
 ἀποθανόντων ἐθάρρησε, τί οὗτος παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ζών-  
 των δίκαιός ἐστιν; πολλὰ τοίνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων  
 περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλείψω· οὐ γὰρ ὅς' ἂν δείξαιμι προσ- 15  
 όντ' αἰσχυρὰ τούτῳ καὶ ὀνειδέη, πάντ' οἶμαι δεῖν εὐχερῶς  
 λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὅσα μηδὲν αἰσχυρόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ἐμοί.

Ἐξέτασον τοίνυν παρ' ἄλληλα τὰ σοὶ καμοὶ βε- 265  
 βιωμένα, πράως, μὴ πικρῶς, Αἰσχίνη· εἴτ' ἐρώτη-  
 σον τουτουσὶ τὴν ποτέρου τύχην ἂν ἔλοιθ' ἕκαστος 20  
 αὐτῶν. ἐδίδασκες γράμματα, ἐγὼ δ' ἐφοίτων. ἐτέ-  
 λεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτελούμην. ἐχόρευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐχορή-  
 γουν. ἐγραμμάτευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἠκκλησιάζον. ἐτρι-  
 ταγωνίστεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθεώρουν. ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δ'  
 ἐσύριττον. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πεπολίτευσαι πάντα, 25  
 ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ἐὼ τᾶλλα, ἀλλὰ νυνὶ 266  
 τήμερον ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφανωθῆναι δοκιμάζο-

μαι, τὸ δὲ μὴδ' ὀτιοῦν ἀδικεῖν ἀνωμολόγημαι, σοὶ  
 δὲ συκοφάντῃ μὲν εἶναι δοκεῖν ὑπάρχει, κινδυνεύεις  
 δὲ εἴτε δεῖ σ' ἔτι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, εἴτ' ἤδη πεπαῦσθαι  
 μὴ μεταλαμβάντα τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων. ἀγαθῇ γ',  
 5 οὐχ ὀράς; τύχῃ συμβεβιωκὼς τῆς ἐμῆς ὡς φαύλης  
 κατηγορεῖς.

267 Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὰς τῶν λειτουργιῶν μαρτυρίας, ὧν  
 λελειτούργηκα, ὑμῖν ἀναγνῶ. παρ' ἧς παρανάγνωθι  
 καὶ σύ μοι τὰς ῥήσεις ἧς ἐλυμαίνου,

10 ἤκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας  
 καὶ

κακαγγελεῖν μὲν ἴσθι μὴ θέλοντά με,

καὶ κακὸν κακῶς σε μάλιστα μὲν οἱ θεοὶ, ἔπειτα  
 οὔτοι πάντες ἀπολέσειαν, πονηρὸν ὄντα καὶ πολίτην  
 καὶ τριταγωνιστήν.

15 Λέγε τὰς μαρτυρίας.

#### ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙ.

268 Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τοιοῦτος· ἐν δὲ  
 τοῖς ἰδίοις εἰ μὴ πάντες ἴστε ὅτι κοινὸς καὶ φιλόανθρω-  
 πος καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, σιωπῶ καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν  
 εἴποιμι οὐδὲ παρασχοίμην περὶ τούτων οὐδεμίαν μαρ-  
 20 τυρίαν, οὔτ' εἴ τινας ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλυσάμην, οὔτ'  
 εἴ τισι θυγατέρας συνεξέδωκα, οὔτε τῶν τοιούτων  
 269 οὐδέν. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ὑπεείληφα. ἐγὼ νομίζω  
 τὸν μὲν εὖ παθόντα δεῖν μεμνήσθαι πάντα τὸν χρό-

νον, τὸν δὲ ποιήσαντά εὐθὺς ἐπιλελήσθαι, εἰ δεῖ τὸν μὲν χρηστοῦ, τὸν δὲ μὴ μικροψύχου ποιεῖν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου. τὸ δὲ τὰς ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας ὑπομιμνήσκειν καὶ λέγειν μικροῦ δεῖν ὁμοίον ἐστὶ τῷ ὀνειδίζειν. οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν, οὐδὲ προαχθήσομαι, ἀλλ' ὅπως ποθ' ὑπείλημμαι περὶ τούτων, ἀρκεῖ μοι.

Βούλομαι δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπαλλαγεῖς ἔτι μικρὰ 270 πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔχεις, Αἰσχίνη, τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον εἰπεῖν 10 ἀνθρώπων ὅστις ἀθῶος τῆς Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ νῦν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δυναστείας γέγονεν, ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἔστω, συγχωρῶ σοὶ τὴν ἐμὴν εἴτε τύχην εἴτε δυστυχίαν ὀνομάζειν βούλει πάντων αἰτίαν γεγενῆσθαι. εἰ δὲ καὶ τῶν 271 μηδεπώποτ' ἰδόντων ἐμὲ μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀκηκοότων 16 ἐμοῦ πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπόνθασι, μὴ μόνον κατ' ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι καὶ ἔθνη, πόσῳ δικαιότερον καὶ ἀληθέστερον τὴν ἀπάντων, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἀνθρώπων τύχην κοινὴν καὶ φορὰν τινα πραγμάτων 20 χαλεπὴν καὶ οὐχ οἷαν ἔδει τούτων αἰτίαν ἡγεῖσθαι. σὺ τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀφείς ἐμὲ τὸν παρὰ τοιτοισὶ πεπο- 272 λιτευμένον αἰτιά, καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς ὅτι, καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ ὅλον, μέρος γ' ἐπιβάλλει τῆς βλασφημίας ἅπασι, καὶ μάλιστα σοί. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν 25 αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐβουλευόμην, ἦν ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις ῥήτορσιν ὑμῖν ἐμὲ αἰτιάσθαι. εἰ 273

δὲ παρήτε μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀπάσαις, αἰεὶ δ'  
 ἐν κοινῷ τὸ συμφέρον ἢ πόλις προὔτιθει σκοπεῖν,  
 πᾶσι δὲ ταῦτ' ἐδόκει τὸτ' ἄριστ' εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα  
 σοὶ (οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ γ' ἐμοὶ παρεχόμενος ἐλπίδων  
 5 καὶ ζήλου καὶ τιμῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντα προσῆν τοῖς τότε  
 πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἡττώμε-  
 νος δηλονότι καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν βέλτιον),  
 πῶς οὐκ ἀδικεῖς καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖς τούτοις νῦν ἐγκα-  
 274 λῶν ὧν τὸτ' οὐκ εἶχες λέγειν βελτίω; παρὰ μὲν  
 10 τοίνυν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγωγ' ὁρῶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διω-  
 ρισμένα καὶ τεταγμένα πως τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἀδικεῖ τις  
 ἐκὼν, ὀργὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν κατὰ τούτου. ἐξήμαρτέ  
 τις ἄκων, συγγνώμην ἀντὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τούτῳ.  
 οὗτ' ἀδικῶν τις οὗτ' ἐξαμαρτάνων, εἰς τὰ πᾶσι  
 15 δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν ἑαυτὸν δοὺς οὐ κατώρθωσε μεθ'  
 ἀπάντων; οὐκ ὀνειδίζειν οὐδὲ λοιδορεῖσθαι τῷ τοι-  
 275 οὔτῳ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ συνάχθεσθαι. φανήσεται ταῦτα  
 πάντα οὕτως οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς νομίμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ  
 φύσις αὐτῇ τοῖς ἀγράφοις νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρωπί-  
 20 νοις ἔθεσι διώρικεν. Αἰσχίνης τοίνυν τοσοῦτον  
 ὑπερβέβληκεν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ὁμότητι καὶ  
 συκοφαντίᾳ ὥστε καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὡς ἀτυχημάτων  
 ἐμέμνητο, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ.  
 276 Καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἀπλῶς καὶ  
 25 μετ' εὐνοίας πάντας εἰρηκῶς τοὺς λόγους, φυλάττειν  
 ἐμὲ καὶ τηρεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως μὴ παρακρούσομαι  
 μηδ' ἐξαπατήσω, δεινὸν καὶ γόητα καὶ σοφιστὴν

καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ' ὀνομάζων, ὥς ἔαν πρότερός τις εἴπῃ  
τὰ προσόνθ' ἑαυτῷ περὶ ἄλλου, καὶ δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως  
ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐκέτι τοὺς ἀκούοντας σκεφομένους τίς  
ποτ' αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ταῦτα λέγων. ἐγὼ δ' οἶδ' ὅτι  
γινώσκετε τοῦτον ἅπαντες, καὶ πολὺ τούτῳ μᾶλλον 5  
ἢ ἐμοὶ νομίζετε ταῦτα προσεῖναι. καὶ κεῖνο εὖ οἶδ' 277  
ὅτι τὴν ἐμὴν δεινότητα—ἔστω γάρ. καίτοι ἐγώ  
ὁρῶ τῆς τῶν λεγόντων δυνάμεως τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸ  
πλείστον κυρίους· ὥς γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀποδέξησθε καὶ  
πρὸς ἕκαστον ἔχῃτ' εὐνοίας, οὕτως ὁ λέγων ἔδοξε 10  
φρονεῖν. εἰ δ' οὖν ἐστὶ καὶ παρ' ἐμοί τις ἐμπειρία  
τοιαύτη, ταύτην μὲν εὐρήσετε πάντες ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς  
ἐξεταζομένην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αἰεὶ καὶ οὐδαμοῦ καθ' ὑμῶν  
οὐδ' ἰδίᾳ, τὴν δὲ τούτου τὸνναντίον οὐ μόνον τῷ λέγειν  
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις ἐλύπησέ τι τοῦ- 15  
τον ἢ προσέκρουσέ που, κατὰ τούτων. οὐ γὰρ  
αὐτῇ δικαίως, οὐδ' ἐφ' ἃ συμφέρει τῇ πόλει, χρήται.  
οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ὀργὴν οὔτε τὴν ἔχθραν οὔτ' ἄλλο 278  
οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων τὸν καλὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ  
τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν εἰσεληλυθότας δικαστὰς 20  
ἀξιοῦν αὐτῷ βεβαιοῦν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τούτων εἰς ὑμᾶς  
εἰσιέναι, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν μὴ ἔχειν ταῦτ' ἐν τῇ  
φύσει, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἀνάγκη, πρῶως καὶ μετρίως διακεί-  
μεν' ἔχειν. ἐν τίσιν οὖν σφοδρὸν εἶναι τὸν πολι-  
τευόμενον καὶ τὸν ῥήτορα δεῖ; ἐν οἷς τῶν ὅλων τι 25  
κινδυνεύεται τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐν οἷς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναν-  
τίους ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ, ἐν τούτοις· ταῦτα γὰρ γενναίου

279 καὶ ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου. μηδενὸς δὲ ἀδικήματος πώ-  
 ποτε δημοσίου, προσθήσω δὲ μηδ' ἰδίου, δίκην  
 ἀξιώσαντα λαβεῖν παρ' ἐμοῦ μήθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως  
 μήθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, στεφάνου καὶ ἐπαίνου κατηγορίαν  
 5 ἤκειν συνεσκευασμένον, καὶ τοσούτους λόγους ἀνη-  
 λωκέναι ἰδίας ἔχθρας καὶ φθόνου καὶ μικροψυχίας  
 ἐστὶ σημεῖον, οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ. τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ  
 τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ αὐτὸν ἀγῶνας ἐάσαντα νῦν ἐπὶ  
 280 τόνδ' ἤκειν καὶ πᾶσαν ἔχει κακίαν. καί μοι δοκεῖς  
 10 ἐκ τούτων, Αἰσχίνη, λόγων ἐπίδειξιν τινα καὶ φω-  
 νασκίας βουλόμενος ποιήσασθαι τοῦτον προελέσθαι  
 τὸν ἀγῶνα, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενὸς λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν.  
 ἔστι δ' οὐχ ὁ λόγος τοῦ ῥήτορος, Αἰσχίνη, τίμιον,  
 οὐδ' ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ τὰ ταῦτα προαιρεῖ-  
 15 σθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς μισεῖν καὶ  
 281 φιλεῖν οὗσπερ ἂν ἡ πατρίς. ὁ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχων τὴν  
 ψυχὴν, οὗτος ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ πάντ' ἐρεῖ· ὁ δ' ἀφ' ὧν ἡ  
 πόλις προοράται τινα κίνδυνον ἑαυτῇ, τούτους θερα-  
 πεύων οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁρμῇ τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὐκ οὖν  
 20 οὐδὲ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει προσδοκίαν.  
 ἀλλ', ὁρᾷς; ἐγώ· ταῦτα γὰρ συμφέρονθ' εἰλόμην  
 τουτοισί, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον οὐδ' ἴδιον πεποιήμαι.  
 282 ἄρ' οὖν οὐδὲ σύ; καὶ πῶς; ὃς εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν  
 μάχην πρεσβευτῆς ἐπορεύου πρὸς Φίλιππον, ὃς ἦν  
 25 τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις συμφορῶν αἴτιος τῇ  
 πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτ' ἀρνούμενος πάντα τὸν ἔμπροσθε  
 χρόνον ταύτην τὴν χρεῖαν, ὥς πάντες ἴσασιν. καί-



τοι τίς ὁ τὴν πόλιν ἐξαπατῶν; οὐχ ὁ μὴ λέγων ἂ  
 φρονεῖ; τῷ δ' ὁ κῆρυξ καταρᾶται δικαίως; οὐ τῷ  
 τοιούτῳ; τί δὲ μείζον ἔχοι τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ἀδίκημα  
 κατ' ἀνδρὲς ῥήτορος ἢ εἰ μὴ ταῦτα φρονεῖ καὶ λέγει;  
 σὺ τοίνυν οὗτος εὐρέθης. εἶτα σὺ φθέγγει καὶ βλέ- 283  
 πειν εἰς τὰ τουτωνὶ πρόσωπα τολμᾷς; πότερ' οὐχ 6  
 ἡγεί γιγνώσκειν αὐτοὺς ὅστις εἶ; ἢ τοσοῦτον ὕπνου  
 καὶ λίθην ἅπαντας ἔχειν ὥστ' οὐ μεμνήσθαι τοὺς  
 λόγους οὓς ἐδημηγόρεις ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, καταρώμενος  
 καὶ διομνύμενος μηδὲν εἶναι σοὶ καὶ Φιλίππῳ πρᾶγ- 10  
 μα, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ τὴν αἰτίαν σοι ταύτην ἐπάγειν τῆς  
 ἰδίας ἕνεκ' ἔχθρας, οὐκ οὔσαν ἀληθῆ. ὥς δ' ἀπηγ- 284  
 γέλθη τάχισθ' ἢ μάχη, οὐδὲν τούτων φροντίσας  
 εὐθέως ὠμολόγεις καὶ προσεποιοῦ φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν  
 εἶναί σοι πρὸς αὐτὸν, τῇ μισθαρνίᾳ ταῦτα μετατιθέ- 15  
 μενος τὰ ὀνόματα· ἐκ ποίας γὰρ ἴσης ἢ δικαίας  
 προφάσεως Αἰσχίνῃ τῷ Γλαυκοθέας τῆς τυμπανισ-  
 τρίας ξένος ἢ φίλος ἢ γνώριμος ἦν Φίλιππος; ἐγὼ  
 μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶ, ἀλλ' ἐμισθώθης ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ τουτωνὶ  
 συμφέροντα διαφθείρειν. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτω φανερώς 20  
 αὐτὸς εἰλημμένος προδότης καὶ κατὰ σαυτοῦ μηνυ-  
 τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβάσι γεγονὼς ἐμοὶ λοιδορεῖ καὶ  
 ὀνειδίζει ταῦτα, ὧν πάντας μᾶλλον αἰτίους εὐρήσεις.

Πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἢ πόλις, Αἰσχίνῃ, 285  
 καὶ προεῖλετο καὶ κατώρθωσε δι' ἐμοῦ, ὧν οὐκ ἡμνη- 25  
 μόνησεν. σημεῖον δέ· χειροτονῶν γὰρ ὁ δῆμος τὸν  
 ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ συμ-

βάντα οὐ σὲ ἐχειροτόνησε προβληθέντα, καίπερ  
 εὐφωνον ὄντα, οὐδὲ Δημάδην, ἄρτι πεποιηκότα τὴν  
 εἰρήνην, οὐδ' Ἡγήμονα, οὐδ' ἄλλον ὑμῶν οὐδένα,  
 ἀλλ' ἐμέ. καὶ παρελθόντος σου καὶ Πυθοκλέους  
 5 ὡμῶς καὶ ἀναιδῶς, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ, καὶ κατηγορούν-  
 των ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ἃ καὶ σὺ νυνὶ, καὶ λαιδορουμένων, ἔτ'  
 286 ἄμεινον ἐχειροτόνησεν ἐμέ. τὸ δ' αἴτιον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς  
 μὲν, ὅμως δὲ φράσω σοι καὶ γώ. ἀμφοτέρ' ἤδεσαν  
 οὔτοι, τὴν τ' ἐμὴν εὐνοίαν καὶ προθυμίαν, μεθ' ἧς  
 10 τὰ πράγματ' ἔπραττον, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀδικίαν.  
 ἃ γὰρ εὐθενούντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἠρνεῖσθε διομνύ-  
 μενοι, ταῦτ' ἐν οἷς ἔπταισεν ἡ πόλις ὠμολογήσατε.  
 τοὺς οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀτυχήμασιν ὧν ἐφρόνου  
 λαβόντας ἄδειαν ἐχθροὺς μὲν πάλαι, φανεροὺς δὲ τόθ'  
 287 ἡγήσαντο αὐτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι. εἶτα καὶ προσήκειν  
 16 ὑπολαμβάνοντες τὸν ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι  
 καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν κοσμήσουσα μήθ' ὁμωρόφιον  
 μήθ' ὁμόσπονδον γεγεννημένον εἶναι τοῖς πρὸς ἐκεί-  
 νους παραταξαμένοις, μηδ' ἐκεῖ μὲν κωμάζειν καὶ  
 20 παιανίζειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοραῖς μετὰ  
 τῶν αὐτοχείρων τοῦ φόνου, δεῦρο δ' ἐλθόντα τιμᾶ-  
 σθαι, μηδὲ τῇ φωνῇ δακρύειν ὑποκρινόμενον τὴν  
 ἐκείνων τύχην, ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ συναλγεῖν. τοῦτο  
 δ' ἐώρων παρ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παρ' ἐμοῖ, παρὰ δ' ὑμῖν  
 25 οὔ. διὰ ταῦτ' ἔμ' ἐχειροτόνησαν καὶ οὐχ ὑμᾶς.  
 288 καὶ οὐχ ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὕτως, οἱ δὲ τῶν τετελευτηκό-  
 των πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τόθ'

αἰρεθέντες ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς ἄλλως πως, ἀλλὰ δέον  
 ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸ περιδείπνον ὡς παρ' οἰκειοτάτῳ  
 τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ὥσπερ τὰλλ' εἶωθε γίγνεσθαι,  
 τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν παρ' ἐμοί. εἰκότως· γένει μὲν γὰρ  
 ἕκαστος ἐκάστῳ μᾶλλον οἰκεῖος ἦν ἐμοῦ, κοινῇ δὲ 5  
 πᾶσιν οὐδεὶς ἐγγυτέρῳ· ὃ γὰρ ἐκείνους σωθῆναι  
 καὶ κατορθῶσαι μάλιστα διέφερεν, οὗτος καὶ παθόν-  
 των ἂ μῆποτ' ὄφελον τῆς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων λύπης  
 πλείστον μετεῖχεν.

Λέγε δ' αὐτῷ τουτὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ δημοσίᾳ 289  
 προείλετο ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι, ἵν' εἰδῆς, 11  
 Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ σαυτὸν ἀγνώμονα καὶ  
 συκοφάντην ὄντα καὶ μιαιρόν. Λέγε.

#### ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

Οἷδε πάτρας ἔνεκα σφετέρας εἰς δῆριν ἔθεντο  
 ὄπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκέδασαν. 15  
 μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος οὐκ ἐσάωσαν  
 ψυχὰς, ἀλλ' Ἀἶδην κοινὸν ἔθεντο βραβῆ,  
 οὐνεκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς μὴ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες  
 δουλοσύνης στυγερὰν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσιν ὕβριν.  
 γαῖα δὲ πατρὶς ἔχει κόλποις τῶν πλείστα καμόντων 20  
 σώματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἦδε κρίσις·  
 μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἐστι θεοῦ καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν,  
 ἐν βιοτῇ μοῖραν δ' οὐ τι φυγεῖν ἔπορεν.

Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ μηδὲν ἄμαρ- 290  
 τεῖν ἐστι θεοῦ καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν; οὐ τῷ συμβού- 25  
 λῳ τὴν τοῦ κατορθοῦν τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους ἀνέθηκε

δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς. τί οὖν, ὦ κατάρατ', ἐμοὶ περὶ τούτων λοιδορεῖ, καὶ λέγεις ἅ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς οἱ θεοὶ τρέφειαν εἰς κεφαλὴν;

- 291 Πολλὰ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἄλλα  
 5 κατηγορηκóτος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου, μάλιστα  
 ἐθαύμασα πάντων, ὅτι τῶν συμβεβηκότων τότε  
 τῇ πόλει μνησθεῖς οὐχ ὥς ἂν εὖνους καὶ δίκαιος  
 πολίτης ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, οὐδ' ἐδάκρυσεν, οὐδ'  
 ἔπαθε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἀλλ' ἐπάρας τὴν φω-  
 10 νὴν καὶ γεγεθὼς καὶ λαρυγγίζων ᾤετο μὲν ἐμοῦ κατη-  
 γορεῖν δηλονότι, δεῖγμα δ' ἐξέφερε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι  
 τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀνιαιοῖς οὐδὲν ὁμοίως ἔσχε τοῖς  
 292 ἄλλοις. καίτοι τὸν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας  
 φάσκοντα φροντίζειν, ὥσπερ οὗτος νυνὶ, καὶ εἰ μὴδὲν  
 15 ἄλλο, τοῦτό γ' ἔχειν δεῖ, ταῦτ' ἀλυπεῖσθαι καὶ ταῦτ' ἀ-  
 χαίρειν τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ μὴ τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν  
 κοινῶν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐναντίων μέρει τετάχθαι. ὃ σὺ νυνὶ  
 πεποιηκὼς εἰ φανερός, ἐμὲ πάντων αἵτιον καὶ δι' ἐμὲ εἰς  
 πράγματα φάσκων ἐμπεσεῖν τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς  
 20 ἐμῆς πολιτείας οὐδὲ προαιρέσεως ἀρξαμένων ὑμῶν  
 293 τοῖς Ἑλλησι βοηθεῖν, ἐπεὶ ἔμοιγ' εἰ τοῦτο δοθείη  
 παρ' ὑμῶν, δι' ἐμὲ ὑμᾶς ἡναντιῶσθαι τῇ κατὰ τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῇ πραττομένῃ, μείζων ἂν δοθείη δωρεὰ  
 συμπασῶν ὢν τοῖς ἄλλοις δεδώκατε. ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἂν  
 25 ἐγὼ ταῦτα φῆσαιμι (ἀδικοίην γὰρ ἂν ὑμᾶς), οὐτ'  
 ἂν ὑμεῖς εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι συγχωρήσαίτε. οὗτός τ' εἰ  
 δίκαια ἐποίει, οὐκ ἂν ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔχθρας τὰ

μέγιστα τῶν ὑμετέρων καλῶν ἔβλαπτε καὶ διέβαλλεν.

Ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτ' ἐπιτιμῶ, πολλῷ σχετλιώτερα 294  
 ἄλλα κατηγορηκός αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου; ὃς  
 γὰρ ἐμοῦ φιλιππισμὸν, ᾧ γῇ καὶ θεοῖ, κατηγορεῖ, 5  
 τί οὗτος οὐκ ἂν εἴποι; καίτοι νῆ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ  
 πάντας θεοὺς, εἰ γ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας δέοι σκοπεῖσθαι,  
 τὸ καταψεύδεσθαι καὶ δι' ἔχθραν τι λέγειν ἀνελόν-  
 τας ἐκ μέσου, τίνες ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰσὶν οἷς ἂν εἰκότως  
 καὶ δικαίως τὴν τῶν γεγενημένων αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὴν 10  
 κεφαλὴν ἀναθεῖεν ἅπαντες, τοὺς ὁμοίους τούτῳ παρ'  
 ἐκάστη τῶν πόλεων εὔροιτ' ἂν, οὐ τοὺς ἐμοί· οἱ, 295  
 ὅτ' ἦν ἄσθενῇ τὰ Φιλίππου πράγματα καὶ κομιδῇ  
 μικρὰ, πολλάκις προλεγόντων ἡμῶν καὶ παρακα-  
 λούντων καὶ διδασκόντων τὰ βέλτιστα, τῆς ἰδίας ἐνεκ' 15  
 αἰσχροκερδίας τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα προΐεντο, τοὺς  
 ὑπάρχοντας ἕκαστοι πολίτας ἐξαπατῶντες καὶ διαφ-  
 θείροντες, ἕως δούλους ἐποίησαν, Θετταλοὺς Δάοχος,  
 Κινέας, Θρασυδαῖος, Ἀρκάδας Κερκιδᾶς, Ἱερώννυμος,  
 Εὐκαμπίδας, Ἀργεῖους Μύρτις, Τελέδαμος, Μνα- 20  
 σέας, Ἡλείους Εὐξίθεος, Κλεότιμος, Ἀρίσταιχος,  
 Μεσσηνίους οἱ Φιλιάδου τοῦ θεοῖς ἐχθροῦ παῖδες  
 Νέων καὶ Θρασύλοχος, Σικωνίους Ἀρίστρατος,  
 Ἐπιχάρης, Κορινθίους Δείναρχος, Δημάρατος, Με-  
 γαρέας Πτοιόδωρος, Ἐλιξος, Περίλαος, Θηβαίους 25  
 Τιμόλας, Θεογείτων, Ἀνεμοίτας, Εὐβοέας Ἴππαρ-  
 χος, Κλείταρχος, Σωσίστρατος. ἐπιλείψει με λέ- 296

γοντα ἢ ἡμέρα τὰ τῶν προδοτῶν ὀνόματα. οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν πατρίσιν ὧνπερ οὗτοι παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνθρωποι μιανοὶ καὶ κόλακες καὶ ἀλάστορες, ἡκρωτηριασμένοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἑκάστοι πατρίδας, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες πρότερον μὲν Φιλίππῳ, νῦν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τῇ γαστρὶ μετροῦντες καὶ τοῖς αἰσχύστοις τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν δεσπότην αὐτῶν, ἃ τοῖς προτέροις  
 10 Ἑλλησιν ὅροι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν καὶ κανόνες, ἀνατetroφότες.

297 Ταύτης τοίνυν τῆς οὕτως αἰσχρᾶς καὶ περιβοήτου συστάσεως καὶ κακίας, μᾶλλον δ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, προδοσίας, εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, τῆς τῶν Ἑλλή-  
 15 ῶν ἐλευθερίας, ἣ τε πόλις παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναίτιος γέγονεν ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν πολιτευμάτων καὶ ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν. εἰτά μ' ἐρωτᾶς ἀντὶ ποίας ἀρετῆς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι; ἐγὼ δὴ σοι λέγω ὅτι τῶν πολιτευομένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι διάφθαρέντων ἀπάντων,  
 20 ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ, πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου, 298 νῦν δ' ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐμὲ οὔτε καιρὸς οὔτε φιλανθρωπία λόγων οὔτ' ἐπαγγελιῶν μέγεθος οὔτ' ἐλπίς οὔτε φόβος οὔτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐπῆρεν οὐδὲ προηγάγετο ὧν ἔκρινα δικαίων καὶ συμφερόντων τῇ πατρίδι  
 25 οὐδὲν προδοῦναι, οὐδ', ὅσα συμβεβούλευκα πῶποτε τουτοισι, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν ὥσπερανεὶ τρυτάνη ρέπων ἐπὶ τὸ λῆμμα συμβεβούλευκα, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας

καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ μεγίστων δὴ πραγ-  
μάτων τῶν κατ' ἑμαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων προστάς πάντα  
ταῦτα ὑγιῶς καὶ δικαίως πεπολίτευμαι. διὰ ταῦτ'  
ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι. τὸν δὲ τειχισμὸν τοῦτον, ὃν σύ 299  
μου διέσυρες, καὶ τὴν ταφρείαν ἄξια μὲν χάριτος 5  
καὶ ἐπαίνου κρίνω, πῶς γὰρ οὔ; πόρρω μέντοι που  
τῶν ἑμαυτῷ πεπολιτευμένων τίθεμαι. οὐ λίθοις  
ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγὼ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τού-  
τοις μέγιστον τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ φρονῶ· ἀλλ' ἐὰν τὸν  
ἑμὸν τειχισμὸν βούλῃ δικαίως σκοπεῖν, εὐρήσεις 10  
ὄπλα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τόπους καὶ λιμένας καὶ ναῦς  
καὶ ἵππους καὶ πολλοὺς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνου-  
μένους. ταῦτα προὔβαλόμεν ἐγὼ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττι- 300  
κῆς, ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ δυνατόν, καὶ τού-  
τοις ἐτείχισα τὴν χώραν, οὐχὶ τὸν κύκλον τοῦ 15  
Πειραιῶς οὐδὲ τοῦ ἄστεως. οὐδέ γ' ἡττήθην ἐγὼ  
τοῖς λογισμοῖς Φιλίππου, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, οὐδὲ  
ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλ' οἱ τῶν συμμάχων στρατη-  
γοὶ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τῇ τύχῃ. τίνες αἱ τούτων ἀπο-  
δείξεις; ἐναργεῖς καὶ φανεραί. σκοπεῖτε δέ. 20

Τί χρὴν τὸν εὖνουν πολίτην ποιεῖν, τί τὸν μετὰ 301  
πάσης προνοίας καὶ προθυμίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὲρ  
τῆς πατρίδος πολιτευόμενον; οὐκ ἐκ μὲν θαλάττης  
τὴν Εὐβοίαν προβαλέσθαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκ δὲ  
τῆς μεσογείας τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς Πελο- 25  
πόννησον τόπων τοὺς ὁμόρους ταύτῃ; οὐ τὴν σιτο-  
πομπίαν, ὅπως παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν ἄχρι τοῦ



302 Πειραιῶς κομισθήσεται, προιδέσθαι; καὶ τὰ μὲν  
 σῶσαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκπέμποντα βοηθείας καὶ  
 λέγοντα καὶ γράφοντα τοιαῦτα, τὴν Προκόννησον,  
 τὴν Χερρόνησον, τὴν Τένεδον, τὰ δ' ὅπως οἰκεῖα καὶ  
 5 σύμμαχ' ὑπάρξει πράξαι, τὸ Βυζάντιον, τὴν Ἀβυ-  
 δον, τὴν Εὐβοίαν; καὶ τῶν μὲν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπαρ-  
 χουσῶν δυνάμεων τὰς μεγίστας ἀφελεῖν, ὧν δ'  
 303 ἐνέλειπε τῇ πόλει, ταῦτα προσθεῖναι; ταῦτα τοίνυν  
 ἅπαντα πέπρακται τοῖς ἐμοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ τοῖς  
 10 ἐμοῖς πολιτεύμασιν, ἃ καὶ βεβουλευμένα, ὧ ἄνδρες  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐὰν ἄνευ φθόνου τις βούληται σκοπεῖν,  
 ὀρθῶς εὐρήσει καὶ πεπραγμένα πάσῃ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ  
 τὸν ἐκάστου καιρὸν οὐ παρεθέντα οὐδ' ἀγνοηθέντα  
 οὐδὲ προεθέντα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ὅσα εἰς ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς δύ-  
 15 ναμιν καὶ λογισμὸν ἤκεν, οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθέν. εἰ δὲ ἡ  
 δαίμονός τινος ἡ τύχης ἰσχὺς ἡ στρατηγῶν φαυλότης  
 ἡ τῶν προδιδόντων τὰς πόλεις ὑμῶν κακία ἡ πάντα  
 ταῦτα ἅμα ἐλυμαίνετο τοῖς ὅλοις, ἕως ἀνέτρεψαν, τί  
 304 Δημοσθένης ἀδικεῖ; εἰ δ' οἷος ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν κατὰ  
 20 τὴν ἐμαντοῦ τάξιν, εἷς ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων  
 πόλεων ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον δ' εἰ ἓνα ἄνδρα μόνον  
 Θετταλία καὶ ἓνα ἄνδρα Ἀρκαδία ταῦτα φρονούντα  
 ἔσχεν ἐμοὶ, οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν ἔξω Πυλῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 οὔτε τῶν εἴσω τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἐκέχρητ' ἂν,  
 25 ἀλλὰ πάντες ἂν ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι μετὰ  
 πάσης ἀδείας ἀσφαλῶς ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τὰς ἑαυτῶν  
 ᾧκουν πατρίδας, τῶν τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν

ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις ἔχοντες χάριν δι' ἐμέ. ἵνα δ' εἰδῆτε ὅτι πολλῶ τοῖς λόγοις ἐλάττωσι 305  
 χρῶμαι τῶν ἔργων, εὐλαβούμενος τὸν φθόνον, λέγε μοι ταυτὶ καὶ ἀνάγνωθι λαβὼν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βοηθειῶν κατὰ τὰ ἐμὰ ψηφίσματα. 5

ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΩΝ.

Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸν καλὸν 306  
 ἀγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ, ὃν κατορθουμένων μὲν μεγίστοις ἀναμφισβητήτως ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ δικαίως προσῆν, ὡς ἐτέρως δὲ συμβάντων τὸ γοῦν εὐδοκιμεῖν περίεστι καὶ τὸ μηδένα μέμφεσθαι τὴν 10  
 πόλιν μηδὲ τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν τύχην κακίζειν τὴν οὕτω τὰ πράγματα κρίνασαν, οὐ μὰ 307  
 Δί' οὐκ ἀποστάντα τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει, μισθώσαντα δ' αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐναντίοις, τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καιροὺς ἀντὶ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος θεραπεύειν, 15  
 οὐδὲ τὸν μὲν πράγματ' ἄξια τῆς πόλεως ὑποστάντα λέγειν καὶ γράφειν καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων προελόμενον βασκαίνειν, ἂν δέ τις ἰδίᾳ τι λυπήσῃ, τοῦτο μεμνήσθαι καὶ τηρεῖν, οὐδέ γ' ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἄδικον καὶ ὑπουργον, ὃ σὺ ποιεῖς πολλάκις. ἔστι γάρ, 308  
 ἔστιν ἡσυχία δικαία καὶ συμφέρουσα τῇ πόλει, ἣν 21 οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑμεῖς ἀπλῶς ἄγετε. ἀλλ' οὐ ταύτην οὗτος ἄγει τὴν ἡσυχίαν, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀποστὰς ὅταν αὐτῷ δόξῃ τῆς πολιτείας (πολλάκις δὲ δοκεῖ) φυλάττει πηνικ' ἔσεσθε μεστοὶ 25

τοῦ συνεχῶς λέγοντος ἢ παρὰ τῆς τύχης τι συμβέ-  
 βηκεν ἐναντίωμα ἢ ἄλλο τι δύσκολον γέγονε (πολλὰ  
 309 δὲ τὰνθρώπινα)· εἴτ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ῥήτωρ  
 ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας ὥσπερ πνεῦμ' ἐφάνη, καὶ  
 5 πεφωνασκηκῶς καὶ συνειλοχῶς ῥήματα καὶ λόγους  
 συνείρει τούτους σαφῶς καὶ ἀπνευστὶ, ὄνησιν μὲν  
 οὐδεμίαν φέροντας οὐδ' ἀγαθοῦ κτήσιν οὐδεὶνος, συμ-  
 φορᾶν δὲ τῷ τυχόντι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ κοινὴν αἰσχύ-  
 νην. καίτοι ταύτης τῆς μελέτης καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας,  
 10 Αἰσχίνη, εἴπερ ἐκ ψυχῆς δικαίας ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ  
 τῆς πατρίδος συμφέροντα προηρημένης, τοὺς καρ-  
 πούς ἔδει γενναίους καὶ καλοὺς καὶ πᾶσιν ὠφελίμους  
 εἶναι, συμμαχίας πόλεων, πόρους χρημάτων, ἐμπο-  
 ρίου κατασκευὴν, νόμων συμφερόντων θέσεις, τοῖς  
 310 ἀποδειχθεῖσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐναντιώματα. τούτων γὰρ  
 16 ἀπάντων ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐξέτασις, καὶ ἔδω-  
 κεν ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος πολλὰς ἀποδείξεις ἀνδρὶ  
 καλῷ τε καὶ ἀγαθῷ, ἐν οἷς οὐδαμοῦ σὺ φανήσῃ γεγο-  
 νῶς, οὐ πρῶτος, οὐ δεύτερος, οὐ τρίτος, οὐ τέταρτος,  
 20 οὐ πέμπτος, οὐχ ἕκτος, οὐχ ὀποστοσοῦν, οὐκ οὖν ἐπὶ  
 311 γ' οἷς ἡ πατὴρ ἡξάνετο. τίς γὰρ συμμαχία σοῦ  
 πράξαντος γέγονε τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ βοήθεια ἢ κτή-  
 σις εὐνοίας ἢ δόξης; τίς δὲ πρεσβεία, τίς διακονία  
 δι' ἣν πόλις ἐντιμοτέρα; τί τῶν οἰκείων ἢ τῶν  
 25 Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ξενικῶν, οἷς ἐπέστης, ἐπηνώρθωται;  
 ποῖαι τριήρεις; ποῖα βέλη; ποῖοι νεώσοικοι; τίς  
 ἐπισκευὴ τειχῶν; ποῖον ἵππικόν; τί τῶν ἀπάντων

σὺ χρήσιμος εἶ; τίς ἢ τοῖς εὐπόροις ἢ τοῖς ἀπόροις  
πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ βοήθεια χρημάτων; οὐδεμία.  
ἀλλ', ὡ τῶν, εἰ μηδὲν τούτων, εὐνοιά γε καὶ προθυ- 312  
μία· ποῦ; πότε; ὅστις, ὃ πάντων ἀδικώτατε, οὐδ'  
ὅτε ἅπαντες, ὅσοι πρόποτ' ἐφθέγγξαντ' ἐπὶ τοῦ βή- 5  
ματος, εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπεδίδοσαν, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον  
Ἀριστόνικος τὸ συνειλεγμένον εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν  
ἀργύριον, οὐδὲ τότε οὔτε παρήλθες οὔτ' ἐπέδωκας  
οὐδέν, οὐκ ἀπορῶν, πῶς γάρ; ὅς γε κεκληρονόμηκας  
μὲν τῶν Φίλωνος τοῦ κηδεστοῦ χρημάτων πλειόνων 10  
ἢ πεντεταλάντων, διτάλαντον δ' εἶχες ἔρανον δωρεὰν  
παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν συμμοριῶν ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω  
τὸν τριηραρχικὸν νόμον. ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ λόγον ἐκ 313  
λόγου λέγων τοῦ παρόντος ἑμαυτὸν ἐκκρούσω, παρα-  
λείψω ταῦτα. ἀλλ' ὅτι γ' οὐχὶ δι' ἔνδειαν οὐκ ἐπέ- 15  
δωκας, ἐκ τούτων δῆλον, ἀλλὰ φυλάττων τὸ μηδὲν  
ἐναντίον γενέσθαι παρὰ σοῦ τούτοις οἷς ἅπαντα  
πολιτεύει. ἐν τίσιν οὖν σὺ νεανίας καὶ πηνίκα  
λαμπρός; ἢνὶκ' ἂν κατὰ τουτωνὶ δέη, ἐν τούτοις  
λαμπροφωνότατος, μνημονικώτατος, ὑποκριτῆς ἄρι- 20  
στος, τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης.

Εἵτα τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν 314  
μέμνησαι. καὶ καλῶς ποιεῖς. οὐ μέντοι δίκαιόν  
ἐστίν, ὡ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτη-  
κότας εὐνοίαν ὑπάρχουσαν προλαβόντα παρ' ὑμῶν 25  
πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐξετάζειν καὶ παραβάλλειν ἐμὲ τὸν  
νῦν ζῶντα μεθ' ὑμῶν. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν πάν- 315

των ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ζῶσι πᾶσιν ὕπεστί τις ἢ πλείων ἢ  
ἐλάττων φθόνος, τοὺς τεθνεώτας δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
οὐδεὶς ἔτι μισεῖ; οὕτως οὖν ἐχόντων τούτων τῇ  
φύσει, πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἑμαντοῦ νῦν ἐγὼ κρίνωμαι καὶ  
5 θεωρῶμαι; μηδαμῶς· οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὔτ' ἴσον,  
Αἰσχίνη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σὲ καὶ ἄλλον εἴ τινα βούλει  
316 τῶν ταῦτά σοι προηρημένων καὶ ζώντων. καὶ κεῖνο  
σκόπει. πότερον κάλλιον καὶ ἄμεινον τῇ πόλει διὰ  
τὰς τῶν πρότερον εὐεργεσίας, οὔσας ὑπερμεγέθεις,  
10 οὐ μὲν οὖν εἴποι τις ἂν ἡλίκας, τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν παρόντα  
βίον γιγνομένας εἰς ἀχαριστίαν καὶ προπηλακισμόν  
ἄγειν, ἢ πᾶσιν, ὅσοι τι μετ' εὐνοίας πράττουσι, τῆς  
317 παρὰ τούτων τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας μετεῖναι; καὶ  
μὴν εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα δεῖ με εἰπεῖν, ἢ μὲν ἐμὴ πολι-  
15 τεία καὶ προαίρεσις, ἂν τις ὀρθῶς σκοπῇ, ταῖς τῶν  
τότ' ἐπαινουμένων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοία καὶ ταῦτά βουλο-  
μένη φανήσεται, ἢ δὲ σὴ ταῖς τῶν τοὺς τοιούτους  
τότε συκοφαντούντων· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ κατ' ἐκεί-  
νους ἦσαν τινες, οἳ διέσυρον μὲν τοὺς ὄντας τότε,  
20 τοὺς δὲ πρότερον γεγενημένους ἐπήνουν, βάσκανον  
318 πρᾶγμα καὶ ταῦτ' οὖν ποιοῦντες σοί· εἴτα λέγεις ὥς  
οὐδὲν ὅμοιός εἰμι ἐκείνοις ἐγώ; σὺ δ' ὅμοιος, Αἰσχί-  
νη; ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός; ἄλλος δέ τις τῶν νῦν  
ῥητόρων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα φημί. ἀλλὰ πρὸς  
25 τοὺς ζῶντας, ὦ χρηστὲ, ἵνα μηδὲν ἄλλ' εἴπω, τὸν  
ζῶντα ἐξέταξε καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν, ὥσπερ τᾶλλα  
πάντα, τοὺς ποιητὰς, τοὺς χοροὺς, τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς.

ὁ Φιλάμμων οὐχ ὅτι Γλαύκου τοῦ Καρυστίου καί 319  
 τινων ἐτέρων πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀθλητῶν ἀσθε-  
 νέστερος ἦν, ἀστεφάνωτος ἐκ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἀπῆει,  
 ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν εἰσελθόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄριστα ἐμά-  
 χητο, ἐστεφανοῦτο καὶ νικῶν ἀνηγορεύετο. καὶ σὺ 5  
 πρὸς τοὺς νῦν ὄρα με ῥήτορας, πρὸς σαυτὸν, πρὸς  
 ὄντινα βούλει τῶν ἀπάντων· οὐδένα ἐξίσταμαι. ὦν, 320  
 ὅτε μὲν τῇ πόλει τὰ βέλτιστα ἐλέσθαι παρῇν, ἐφα-  
 μίλλου τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα εὐνοίας ἐν κοινῷ πᾶσι  
 κειμένης, ἐγὼ κράτιστα λέγων ἐφαινόμην, καὶ τοῖς 10  
 ἐμοῖς καὶ ψηφίσμασι καὶ νόμοις καὶ πρεσβεύαις  
 ἅπαντα διωκεῖτο, ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἦν οὐδαμοῦ, πλὴν  
 εἰ τούτοις ἐπήρεάσαι τι δέοι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἂ μῆποτ'  
 ὥφελε συνέβῃ, καὶ οὐκέτι συμβούλων, ἀλλὰ τῶν  
 τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις ὑπηρετούντων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τῆς 15  
 πατρίδος μισθαρνεῖν ἐτοίμων καὶ τῶν κολακεύειν  
 ἕτερον βουλομένων ἐξέτασις ἦν, τηνικαῦτα σὺ καὶ  
 τούτων ἕκαστος ἐν τάξει καὶ μέγας καὶ λαμπρὸς  
 ἱπποτρόφος, ἐγὼ δ' ἀσθενής, ὁμολογῶ, ἀλλ' εὖνους  
 μᾶλλον ὑμῶν τουτοισί. δύο δ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 321  
 τὸν φύσει μέτριον πολίτην ἔχειν δεῖ (οὕτω γάρ μοι 21  
 περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λέγουσι ἀνεπιφθονώτατον εἰπεῖν), ἐν  
 μὲν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις τὴν τοῦ γενναίου καὶ τοῦ πρω-  
 τείου τῇ πόλει προαίρεσιν διαφυλάττειν, ἐν παντὶ  
 δὲ καιρῷ καὶ πράξει τὴν εὖνοιαν· τούτου γὰρ ἡ φύ- 25  
 σις κυρία, τοῦ δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἰσχύειν ἕτερα. ταύ-  
 την τοίνυν παρ' ἐμοὶ μεμενηκυῖαν εὐρήσετε ἀπλῶς.

322 ὁρᾶτε δέ. οὐκ ἐξαιτούμενος, οὐκ Ἀμφικτυονικὰς  
 δίκας ἐπαγόντων, οὐκ ἀπειλούντων, οὐκ ἐπαγγελλο-  
 μένων, οὐχὶ τοὺς καταράτους τούτους ὥσπερ θηρία  
 μοι προσβαλλόντων, οὐδαμῶς ἐγὼ προδέδωκα τὴν  
 5 εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίαν. τὸ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθύς ὀρθὴν καὶ  
 δικαίαν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πολιτείας εἰλόμην, τὰς τιμὰς,  
 τὰς δυναστείας, τὰς εὐδοξίας τὰς τῆς πατρίδος θερά-  
 323 πεύειν, ταύτας αὖξιν, μετὰ τούτων εἶναι. οὐκ ἐπὶ  
 μὲν τοῖς ἐτέρων εὐτυχήμασι φαιδρὸς ἐγὼ καὶ γεγε-  
 10 θὼς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιέρχομαι, τὴν δεξιὰν προ-  
 τείνων καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενος τούτοις οὓς ἂν ἐκείσε  
 ἀπαγγέλλειν οἴωμαι, τῶν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθῶν  
 πεφρικὼς ἀκούω καὶ στένων καὶ κύπτων εἰς τὴν  
 γῆν, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσσεβεῖς οὗτοι, οἳ τὴν μὲν πόλιν  
 15 διασύρουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐχ αὐτοὺς διασύροντες, ὅταν  
 τοῦτο ποιῶσιν, ἔξω δὲ βλέπουσι, καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀτυχη-  
 σάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡντύχησεν ἕτερος, ταύτ'  
 ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μενεῖ φασὶ  
 δεῖν τηρεῖν.

324 Μὴ δῆτ', ὦ πάντες θεοὶ, μηδεὶς τοῦθ' ὑμῶν ἐπι-  
 21 νεύσειεν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τούτοις βελτίω τινὰ  
 νοῦν καὶ φρένας ἐνθείητε, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἔχουσιν ἀνιάτως,  
 τούτους μὲν αὐτοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐξώλεις καὶ προώ-  
 λεις ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ ποιήσατε, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοι-  
 25 ποῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπηρτημένων  
 φόβων δότε καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ.



# NOTES.



## NOTES.

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§§ 1, 2. Exordium: a solemn prayer reiterated shortly after (8). MAY HEAVEN INSPIRE THE ASSEMBLY TO GIVE ME SUCH A TRIAL AS MY MERITS DESERVE AND IMPARTIAL JUSTICE DICTATES.

1. Page 1, line 1. **πρῶτον μέν.** "To commence a speech with prayer," says Dissen, "was unusual in the Greek law courts. One instance is found in Lycurgus (c. *Leocr.* 136)" [εὐχομαι γὰρ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς... ἐμὲ μὲν ἄξιον κατήγορον ποιῆσαι.] "The Romans rather affected the practice: Servius (on Vergil. *Æn.* xi. 301), *Maiores nullam orationem nisi invocatis numinibus inchoabant.* Cf. Ciceron. *Div. in Cæcil.* 13": also *pro L. Murenâ* 1, and *pro C. Cornelio* (fragm.). In this instance, the solemn appeal to heaven is occasioned by the unjust demand of Æschines that Demosthenes should be required, in his speech, to follow the order of the indictment and the prosecution. — 2. **ὅσῃν εὐνοίαν, κ. τ. λ.,** *that the same good-will which I ever bear to the state and all of yourselves may subsist for me on your part in the present trial.* The *εὐνοία* of Demosthenes had been specified in Ctesiphon's decree as a ground for giving him the crown. *κηρύττεται τις ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ὅτι στεφανοῦται ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ εὐνοίας,* *Æsch. c. Ctes.* 89, 2. In connection with *διατελῶ ἔχων* the word *ὑπάρξει* is very appropriate: his *constant* patriotism, he assumes, will have accumulated for him a *fund* of popularity on which he may draw at this crisis. The emphatic *τουτονί* adds emphasis to the expression of this idea. — 4. *eis* = *for*, or *in respect to*. — 5. **ἔπειτα** belongs to the class of adverbs which are in themselves antithetic: hence the *μέν* after *πρῶτον* does not require to be followed by *δέ* or any similar particle. — **ὅπερ, κ. τ. λ.,** *that which is most in the interest of yourselves and your character for piety and honor.* For *ὅπερ* we find *ὅ τι μέλλει συνοίσειν* in

} *Herod.*  
} *Ceph.* 2.

the parallel passage, inf. 8. With this sense of εὐσέβεια cf. Soph. *El.* 968, εὐσέβειαν ἐκ πατρὸς κάτω θανόντος οἶσει. Here εὐσέβεια refers to their oath in particular, δόξα to equity in general. For δόξα in 8 the orator substitutes εὐδοξία as more explicit. — 6. παραστήσαι, *to inspire*. παραστήσαντα ἐλπίδας, p. 448, l. 9. οὐ γὰρ ἡ πληγὴ παρέστησε τὴν ὀργὴν ἀλλ' ἡ ἀτιμία, p. 537, l. 22. Whiston translates it, *to put into your hearts*. — 7. μὴ τὸν ἀντίδικον, *not to take my opponent for your adviser respecting the manner in which you ought to hear me*. Æschin. p. 82 (fin.), ἀξιῶσατε τὸν Δημοσθένην τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἀπολογεῖσθαι ὄνπερ καὶ γὼ κατηγορήκα, *i. e.* let him reply to the charge of special illegality before he defends his general character. — 8. ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ. Observe the juxtaposition and the emphasis, suggesting the absurdity as well as the injustice of such dictation: how *you* ought to hear *me*. — 2. 9. τὸν ὅρκον. A clause in the oath of the Heliastæ was ἀκροάσσομαι τοῦ τε κατηγοροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀπολογουμένου ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν, p. 747, l. 9. With ὅρκον repeat σύμβουλον ποιήσασθαι = *to consult*. — 11. ἀκροάσασθαι. Bekker from Σ. The common reading was ἀκροᾶσθαι. The present infinitive would refer to the universal principle, the aorist to its particular application in any given case. — 12. οὐ μόνον. The μόνον must be understood as repeated after the following οὐδέ, ... *not merely to have formed no prejudice, not merely to show your good-will in equal measure to both sides*. Another instance of this very common ellipsis is in 93. — 14. τῇ τάξει, κ. τ. λ., *to allow each of the opposing orators so to deal with his defence and its arrangement as he has desired and predetermined to do*. The force of these perfects represents the speaker as *having chosen* his line of defence *fully* and on principle before the trial begins, after which he cannot lightly abandon it. There is no need to take τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ as a hendiadys.

3, 4. ÆSCHINES, IN THIS TRIAL, HAS TWO SPECIAL ADVANTAGES OVER ME: (1) HE HAS NO CHARACTER TO LOSE; (2) THE SIDE OF THE CASE HE SPEAKS FOR IS THE MOST ENTERTAINING AND INTERESTING.

3. 17. Πολλὰ μὲν, κ. τ. λ., *now while I have many disadvantages... there are two which are especially great*. In this favorite Attic construction δέ introduces the principal sentence, μὲν the subordinate: frequently, as in the present example, they form the apodosis and protasis of a strictly concessive sentence. The καὶ is emphatic; *non copulat sed intendit* (Stallbaum on *Protag.* 315 D); a use especially marked in the phrases καὶ μάλα, καὶ πάννυ, and the like. — 18. ἀγῶνα. This word denotes the Grecian games, primarily the vast assembly that

was wont to witness them, and then the contest and struggle for the prize. Its use by the Attic orators to express a *trial* in the courts is highly significant. The Athenian dicasteries at this time had become, as it were, the *games* or *spectacles* of the age, in which the orators were the athletes, and the people found their favorite *amusement* in being present as spectators. And to this contest and spectacle — *τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα* — a greater concourse had come together from all Greece than had ever before been known to be present on any such occasion. See Æsch. c. Ctes. 56, and Cic. de Opt. Gen. Orat. 7. — Page 2, line 1. οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων, *not for an equal stake*; that is, I have far more at stake than he has. — 3. ἐλεῖν, *to win his cause*; like our own phrase, *to get a verdict*. ἐλεῖν in this sense is used of the prosecutor only, and usually in conjunction with γραφή. γραφὰς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας διώξας εἶλεν οὐδεμίαν, Antiph. p. 115, l. 24. γραφή as distinguished from εἰσαγγελία is an indictment directed against criminal documents or orations, εἰσαγγελία against criminal conduct; inf. 249. Both words are descriptive of *public* accusations, never of *private*, for γραφή ἰδίᾳ (c. Mid. p. 529) implies that, in injuring the *individual* prosecutor, the accused has injured the *state*; because, at the time of the attack, the prosecutor was a State officer, or the like. δίκη as a general term for all varieties of actions would include *public* prosecutions, although, as a legal term, its special meaning is a *private* suit. — 4. ἐμοὶ μὲν. The aposiopesis is due to euphemism; it would be ominous (δυσχερές) to allude to an adverse verdict. He implies: I have position and reputation at stake; Æschines possesses neither, and therefore has nothing to lose; hence he accuses me, ἐκ περιουσίας, *at a monstrous advantage*. Reiske holds that this latter phrase includes the idea, *in sheer wantonness*, or, *by way of pastime*. Whiston renders it, *from a superabundant stock*; adding, for explanation, “hence his loss will be comparatively small, as he has not much to lose.” And he quotes Brougham as rendering: “he brings his charge an unprovoked volunteer, ex abundanti.” The former, in his edition, places a dash after the clause: οὐ βούλομαι... τοῦ λόγου, as well as before it, thus making it parenthetical, and οὗτος δ’ antithetic to ἐμοὶ μὲν. — 6. ἕτερον δέ, *and the other* (sc. disadvantage), *the natural instinct of all mankind to enjoy the hearing of invectives*. — 4. 10. πᾶσιν... ἐνοχλεῖ, *offends everybody*. ὅ τι ἂν μὴ καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐνοχλῇ παρορᾶτε, p. 398, l. 7. The verb ἐνοχλεῖν is usually transitive. οὐχὶ τῶν ἐνοχλούντων ὑμᾶς; p. 622, l. 12; but Lysias constructs it as a neuter, c. Andoc.

p. 107, ἐν γοῦν ἐπίστανται μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς ἡδίκημένοις, and so does Demosthenes, p. 341, l. 3, ἐνοχλοῦντας καὶ προσίοντας ὑμῖν. ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν qualifies the otherwise too unqualified πᾶσιν: *everybody, so to speak*. C. 671; Cu. 564; G. 268; H. 772.\*—11. καὶν μὲν, and if, in precaution against this, I abstain from stating what I have done...I shall be thought incapable of clearing myself from the charges, or showing my claims for honorable distinction. His dilemma is this: either he must praise himself, and so disgust the court, or else hold his peace, and so make a tacit admission that Æschines is in the right. δεικνύναι, to exhibit rather than prove.—14. ἀ...πεπολίτευμαι, my conduct and policy. A fondness for such pairs of words closely related in signification is characteristic of our orator's style. Cf. βεβούληται καὶ προήρηται, 2, λοιδοριῶν καὶ κατηγοριῶν, 3, et passim.—16. ὥς μετριώτατα. This usual ellipsis of δυνατόν ἐστι, or the like, resembles our own idiom, "as best may be"; *quam modestissime*. C. 553; Cu. 631, a; H. 664.—17. ὃ τι δ' ἄν. But, whatever the case itself constrains me to, of that he who set such a trial on foot deserves to incur the blame; i. e. self-defence justifies self-laudation. Reiske cites Quintil. Inst. Or. xi. 1, 22, Neque hoc dico non aliquando de rebus a se gestis oratori esse dicendum, sicut eidem Demostheni pro Ctesiphonte, quod tamen ita emendavit ut necessitatem id faciendi ostenderet, invidiamque omnem in eum reget qui hoc se coegisset. Plutarch, Mor. 541 E, calls it λαμπρὰν τῇ Δημοσθένει παρρησίαν.

5-7. MY STAKE IN THIS CASE IS QUITE AS HEAVY AS CTESIPHON'S. I IMPORE YOU NOT TO BE PREJUDICED BY THE SPEECH FOR THE PROSECUTION, BUT TO BEAR IN MIND YOUR OATH AS JURORS.

5. 21. ἐμοί τε καὶ Κτησιφῶντι. τε is wanting in Σ, probably by accidental omission. In this clause he declares the close connection of Ctesiphon with himself as regards the trial, in the next the ἐμοί stands emphatically alone. Translate, and deserves on my own part an earnestness by no means inferior. The datives are ethical. C. 462; Cu. 433; G. 184, 3; H. 596.—23. πάντων = anything whatever (*cuiusvis*). So in the common phrase, παντός ἐστιν (*cuius contingit*), "it is in the power of anybody (and everybody)." τὸ μὲν ὀργισθῆναι παντός καὶ ῥᾶδιον. Aristot. N. E. 11, 9.—25. τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας. This replies to the taunt of Æschines on p. 84, σὺ δ' οὔτε περὶ τῆς οὐσίας οὔτε περὶ τοῦ σώματος οὔτε περὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμίας ἀγωνίζῃ· ἀλλὰ περὶ τίνος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἡ

\* The references are to the grammars of Crosby, Rev. Ed. 1871; Curtius, Harper's Ed. 1872; Goodwin; and Hadley.

σπουδή; περὶ χρυσῶν στεφάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ.—  
 6. P. 3, l. 3. **δικαίως**. This adverb and the four following words  
 belong clearly to ἀκοῦσαι. *I beg and implore you, while I am making my  
 defence upon the charges, to hear me with justice as the laws direct.*—**ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς**. Originally, not as the earliest lawgiver, but as the most influ-  
 ential. Hence *τιθεῖς*, which is strictly of one despotic lawgiver,  
 whereas *τιθέμενος* is of a republic or community.—4. **εὖνους ὑμῖν**.  
 So Ar. *Nub.* 1190, Σόλων ὁ παλαιὸς ἦν φιλόδημος τὴν φύσιν. Translate,  
*being well disposed towards you, and a friend to the people.*—**οὐ μό-  
 νον, κ. τ. λ.** *Thought it essential should be rendered valid, not merely by the  
 fact of recording them, but also by the fact of you, the jurors, having taken  
 an oath.* To appreciate the force of the tenses *δικάζοντας* and *ὁμωμο-  
 κέναι* we must recollect that a body of 6,000 was chosen annually by  
 lot from the whole of the commons; out of these again, the Archons  
 selected by lot the jury for each particular case, and they took the  
 oath every time prior to trying a cause.—7. 6. **οὐκ ἀπιστῶν**. *Not be-  
 cause he distrusted you.* C. 674; Cu. 581; G. 277, 2; H. 789, c.—  
 7. **αἰτίας καὶ διαβολάς**. *αἰτία*, according to Demosthenes, means an  
 accusation relying on the bare word of the accuser. *ὅταν τις ψιλῷ  
 χρησάμενος λόγῳ μὴ παράσχηται πίστιν ὧν λέγει*, p. 600, l. 4. Hence  
 we find it conjoined with *διαβολαί* here and with *λοιδορία* (l. c.). Ob-  
 serve the orator's fondness for *pairs* of kindred words. Cf. note, 4.  
 —8. **ὁ διώκων**, *the prosecutor*, i. e. the accuser in his official capacity;  
 the Scotch "pursuer"; opposed to *ὁ φεύγων*, *the defendant*. This  
 difference between *διώκειν* and *κατηγορεῖν* is strongly marked in 9, *εἰ  
 μὲν οὖν περὶ ὧν ἐδίωκε μόνον κατηγορήσεν*.—9. **ισχύει**=*is strong*; that is,  
 has the advantage.—**παρελθεῖν**. Originally, *to outstrip and pass  
 by* in a race; hence, metaphorically, *to defeat, circumvent, get the better  
 of*. *τὰ ἔργα τοὺς λόγους παρέρχεται*, p. 132, 7.—11. **διαφυλάττων**.  
 The compound *δια-*, of persistence and continuance, as in *διασώζειν*,  
*διαζηῖν*, κ. τ. λ.—**τὰ δίκαια, κ. τ. λ.** *Shall likewise (καὶ) admit  
 with favor the just pleas of him who speaks at a later period, and having  
 first devoted himself as a fair and impartial hearer to both sides, thus and  
 thus only (οὕτω) (i. e. only after having heard both sides) let him form  
 his decision on the whole case.* Hence the Aorist *παρασχών*. C. 674,  
 d; Cu. 496; H. 717.

8. WITH SO SERIOUS A STRUGGLE BEFORE ME I REITERATE MY  
 PRAYER TO HEAVEN.

16. **ὥς ἔοικε**. To be taken closely with *παντός*. Actually the



prosecution did not assail Demosthenes' life on all points, but obviously its intention was to do so. Compare note, *ὡς ἔπος εἰπείν*, 4. — 17. *λόγον διδόναι*. *To give an account*. So *λ. αἰτεῖν*, *λαμβάνειν*, not to be confounded with the other usage, "to give a man opportunity of speaking." — 18. *πάλιν*. See the notes on the parallel passage in 1. The exordium of this oration is longer and more impassioned than is usual with Demosthenes. The success of his defence depended entirely on his being permitted to choose his own order of arrangement, and to place in the foreground of his argument his public policy, in which he was sure of the sympathy of the Athenian dicastery. Having secured this point in his introduction, he had in fact swept away the chief reliance and support of his antagonist, and could now meet him, as it were, in the open field, on the main question, where he had nothing to fear. His renewed and impassioned appeal to the gods for an impartial hearing was further justified, not to say necessitated, by his adversary's representation of him as an ill-starred and accursed enemy of the gods.

9. AS ÆSCHINES HAS TRAVELLED OUT OF THE INDICTMENT, I SHALL DO THE SAME.

26. *Εἰ κατηγορήσεν... ἂν ἀπελογούμην*. *If he had (at the time when he spoke) accused me, I should have been now defending myself*. The speech of Æschines is a thing of the past, that of Demosthenes is going on in the present. Hence we have the aorist in the protasis, the imperfect in the apodosis. Many grammars give an erroneous rule about the meaning of this imperfect indicative with *ἂν*, according to which rule they would render *ἀπελογούμην ἂν*, "I should defend myself," as if there was some prospect of his doing so. But that would require in Greek the optative in lieu of the indicative. There can clearly be but a shade of difference between the imperfect indicative and the aorist of the same mood, whenever they appear in exactly the same construction. Whichever of the two be combined with *ἂν* in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, the very nature of the tense excludes all consideration of *future* prospects *now*. Such prospects *were* once *future* in a time gone by, if a certain condition had been then fulfilled; but they are so no longer. The imperfect under these circumstances implies a little more than the aorist: it implies that the action of the verb is to be viewed as a matter of duration and continuity. C. 615; Cu. 537, sq.; G. 222; H. 742. — 27. *προβουλεύματος*. At the time when Æschines brought

his action, the bill of Ctesiphon had received the sanction of the βουλή, and was then offered to the δῆμος, that their votes might be taken upon it. Strictly speaking, the bill could not be called a ψήφισμα until it received their sanction. See Smith's Dic. of Antiq. Art. Βουλή. — P. 4, l. 2. ἀνῆλωκε, *has lavished*, a word descriptive of reckless rather than of reasonable expenditure. Some discussion has arisen about the augment, as used in Attic, of the past tenses of ἀναλίσκω (see Lobeck's *Ajax*, 1049). But there seems to be little doubt about the true reading here. — 5. ἵνα μηδεῖς, κ. τ. λ., *that none of you may give me a more prejudiced hearing of the rights which concern this indictment, because he has been carried away by the pleadings extraneous to the case*. This is the usual translation, and according to this we must understand by the phrase ἀλλότριον ἀκούειν *to hear with a judgment not one's own*, i. e. already imbued with the views of another. Cf. γναθμοῖσι γελοίων ἀλλοτρίοισι, Homer *Odyss.* xvii. 452, of laughing with an expression not one's own, i. e. forced. The comparative adverb only adds the sense of *more than the average*, or *more than he would do if let alone*. ἡγμένος, *carried with violence*, a common meaning of ἄγω, as especially in the phrase φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν. The construction of ἀκούειν with a double genitive (1) of the person, (2) of the thing, as here, is somewhat unusual though quite grammatical. The genitive of the person could be regarded as limiting the genitive of the thing = *my just arguments touching the indictment*. Compare τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὑστέρον δίκαια, 7.

10, 11. TO HIS SLANDERS ON MY PRIVATE CHARACTER I REPLY FOR THE PRESENT BY APPEALING TO YOUR PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF ME. I SHALL DEAL WITH HIS IMPUTATIONS ON MY PUBLIC CHARACTER FIRST.

10. 8. λοιδορούμενος, *all his abusive slander*. The active and middle voices of λοιδορεῖν are used with very slight difference of meaning: strictly the active = to abuse the man; the middle = to get the man abused, or abuse him for one's own purposes. So πλάττειν and πλάττεσθαι. Cf. ἐπλάττετο in this same section. — 10. εἰ μὲν ἴστε, *if you know me to be* [supply ὄντα] *such a man as the prosecutor just now* [imperfect tense] *accused me of being* — [and you must know me thoroughly well] *for I have lived nowhere else than among yourselves — do not so much as tolerate the sound of my voice, not even if I have with extreme ability conducted all my public administration; but rise from your seats and condemn me at once*. φωνή is very appropriate here, φωνεῖν meaning “to

speak aloud." Ἀναξ δ' ὁ πρέσβυς τὸδ' εἶπε φωνῶν. *Æsch. Ag.* 205. Demosthenes says, "Refuse not merely to hear my arguments, but even the sound of my voice." There were three methods of silencing an orator: *συρίττειν*=to hiss him down; *ἐκρίπτειν*=to hustle him off the Bema; or lastly, as here, to rise from their seats, drop in their votes in condemnation of Ctesiphon, and so abruptly terminate the trial.—14. εἰ δὲ πολλῶ. *But if you have conceived and are well aware that I myself—ay, and my family too—are far superior to the prosecutor, and of a superior descent, and as good (to say nothing beyond the mark) as any average individuals.* The object of *γινώσκετε* was to have been ἐμέ alone, *καὶ τοὺς ἐμούς* is added as an after-thought, but too late to alter the singular *βελτίω*. It is common, however, in such constructions, for the predicate to agree with the nearer or the more prominent subject, especially if the predicate precedes. *C.* 497; *G.* 138, *N.* 2, *b*; *H.* 511, *h*. The word *μετρίων* is always of the *juste milieu*: here of fair respectability in character and position. *παρέχειν* ἑαυτὸν μέτριον (*Æschin.* p. 1, l. 3). Self-laudation, as *burdensome* to the hearer, is well described by *ἐπαχθές*. *πόλυς ἦν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις καὶ ἐπαχθής*. *Æschin.* p. 33, l. 29.—11. 21. *κακοήθης... εἰρηθες ᾧθης*. Here is a triple paronomasia. *εἰρηθες* is used sarcastically and in a bad sense, as we sometimes use *good-natured* and *well-meaning* to denote weakness. Jacobs imitates the Greek in German by the words, *argmüthig...gutmüthig*; and we might translate them imperfectly thus: *ill-natured as you are, you entertained the good-natured notion*. Paronomasia is not frequent in Demosthenes, but is sometimes used with great ingenuity and force. Thus he plays on the name of Enbulus: *εἰ κακῶς ἐμέ βούλει ποιεῖν*, *Εὐβουλε*.—25. *τετύφωμαι*. *I am not so blind*, literally, *so obscured with mist* (*τῦφος*). Harpocration, however, derives *τυφοῦσθαι* from *τυφώς*, and explains it to be *storm-struck*. Demosthenes combines it with *μαίνεσθαι* (p. 409, l. 11), and with *ληρεῖν* (p. 116, l. 6): he contrasts it with *ἀπιστεῖν* (p. 682, l. 6). The prevailing idea of the verb is therefore *blind folly*.—26. *ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων*. The difference in meaning between *ὑπὲρ* and *περί* is slight in the Attic orators. The sense of *concerning* is common to both, the sense of *defending* is limited to *ὑπὲρ*. Probably this latter sense may have risen from the fact of the hero in the field of battle standing over his prostrate friend to protect him from the enemy's assault.—27. *πομπέας*. Language fit only for a Dionysiac procession (*Harpocr.*). A specimen will be found in *Aristoph. Ranae*, 416 sqq.

Translate: *ribaldry which has been so profusely indulged in.* — P. 5, l. 1. *ἀν βουλομένοις ἤ, if it be the wish of the assembly; otherwise it is not worth while.* On this Dative of Relation, see Madvig, *Gr. S.* § 38. d.; C. 459, N.; Cu. 435; G. 184, N. 6; H. 601, a.

12-16. IN PROSECUTING CTESIPHON, ÆSCHINES HAS LAID THE GRAVEST CHARGES AGAINST MYSELF; BUT, THOUGH HE HAS DONE SO WITH THE UTMOST MALICE, YET HE HAS NOT AFFORDED THE STATE AN OPPORTUNITY TO VISIT ME WITH JUST PUNISHMENT. THAT COULD ONLY HAVE BEEN ACCOMPLISHED BY A FAIR TRIAL IN WHICH I SHOULD MYSELF HAVE BEEN THE DEFENDANT. ÆSCHINES OUGHT TO HAVE BROUGHT ACTIONS AGAINST ME, IN A LEGAL FORM, AT THE VERY TIME OF EACH ALLEGED OFFENCE. IF THESE OFFENCES OF MINE WERE GRAVE ENOUGH TO SUPPLY MATERIALS FOR THE PRESENT CHARGE AGAINST CTESIPHON, *a fortiori* I OUGHT MYSELF TO HAVE BEEN INDICTED FOR COMMITTING THEM.

An immense amount of valuable criticism has been expended on this passage. After carefully weighing the whole of it, I extract the above as the best solution. But none of the editors state distinctly what appears to me the gist of the argument. Æschines, the orator contends, is grossly in the wrong, *for two reasons*, (1) because his accusation is malicious, (2) because it is futile for purposes of justice. His accusation is (1) malicious, for he puts me into a position where I cannot come forward to plead in my own defence. His accusation is (2) futile, for he never indicted me when I was committing the offences, and the time for legal punishment has long gone by. Terrible as the crimes may be with which I am charged, the state can do nothing now to inflict an adequate penalty. Most of the editors seem to consider the whole passage, 12, 13, as obscure and involved in point of language. But there is no just reason for so pronouncing. Only to understand the construction of the sentences the reader must bear in mind their exact sequence and mutual relation. τὰ μὲν κατηγορημένα stands in antithesis to the concessive sentence introduced by τοῦ δὲ παρόντος. The protasis of this concessive sentence is headed by ἐχθροῦ μὲν, the apodosis of it by τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν. To the protasis refer the words which follow from οὐ γάρ to Ἀθηναῖοι: to the apodosis refer the words from ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς to γραφόμενον. He is wrong, says the orator, both ways, for he ought not to have done what he has done, *but* he ought to have done what he has left undone. ἀλλά is clearly the natural particle to link these two clauses together.

12. *Now the accusations he has brought are many and serious; and for some of them the laws assign heavy—ay, the extreme—penalties; but although the very principle of the present trial implies at once an enemy's malice and violence and abuse and insult and everything else of the kind, yet for the charges and accusations which have been laid (if indeed they were true) it is not in the power of the state to inflict an adequate penalty, or in fact anything like it.*—P. 5, l. 5. *προαίρεσις*=the deliberate moral choice by which the prosecutor selected his process of action; its intense maliciousness appeared (1) in the virulence of the accusations against Demosthenes; (2) in the indirect mode of attack which was designed to exclude Demosthenes himself from a personal hearing.—6. *αὐτή*. This reading appears the best, although *αὕτη* is found in Σ and some other MSS.—8. *μέντοι*. The particle *μέντοι* is always adversative, and in antithesis to *μέν* is far stronger than *δέ*, indeed almost as strong as *ἀλλά*.—13. *For he must not deprive one of access to the commons and a fair hearing; still less must he do so in a style of malice and envy: no, indeed, gentlemen of Athens, it is neither proper nor constitutional nor just: but [here supply ἔδει from the δεῖ preceding] his duty was in whatever cases he saw me injuring the state (especially supposing them to be so monstrous as he was just now ranting about and reciting), to take advantage of the legal penalties at the very moment when the said offences were committed; if he saw me commit what deserved impeachment, impeaching me, and bringing me in that manner to trial before your court; or if he saw me proposing unconstitutional measures, indicting me for unconstitutional conduct. For it is not possible, I presume, that he should prosecute Ctesiphon now on my account, and yet have foreborne to prosecute myself, had he thought he could secure a conviction.*—11. *προσελθεῖν τῷ δήμῳ* simply means, in connection with the context, to be placed in the official position of defendant. In *λόγον τυχεῖν*, *to get a speaking*, we have a suggestive contrast with our own idiom, *to get a hearing*. At the beginning of *Æschin. de F. L.* we find this phrase immediately followed by *ἀπολογίας τυχών*.—12. *τάξει*. More strictly, *position*, but a word of such various uses must be rendered according to its collocation. *ἐν ἐχθροῦ τάξει* (p. 481, l. 21), in the *quality* of. *τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου τάξιν* (p. 292, l. 14), the *province* or *part* of. In *ἐτραγῶδει* there is not only a general allusion to the pompous declamation of the theatre, but a tacit reference to the former profession of Æschines as an actor. The more frequent taunt is *τριταγωνιστεῖν*, as in this speech, p. 314, l. 12, etc., *διεξίεναι*, in the sense of *reciting*, is an apt combination.

Æschin. p. 75, l. 35. — 17. **παρ' αὐτά.** The time of accusation being exactly parallel to the time when the offences were committed. *παρὰ καιρούς* (p. 470, l. 12), *παρὰ χορηγίαν* (p. 514, l. 8), etc. — 18. **εἰσαγγελία** may be rendered by our word *impeachment*, but strictly means a public prosecution for some offence which legislation has omitted to notice, and for which, in consequence, no penalty is specified. — 20. **παράνομα** consisted in proposing a *ψήφισμα*, which would violate either the letter or spirit of any existing law. We have no exact equivalent for it, but *unconstitutional* is nearer the meaning than *illegal*. A fuller explanation of these and other judicial words may be found in Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities. — 14. 23. **καὶ μὴν**, and really: often wrongly translated moreover. *μὴν* is the strongest asseverative particle, like the colloquial use of *I declare* in English. In the formula *ἦ μὴν* this sense is particularly prominent; also in Greek Tragedy, where a new character enters and is introduced by the chorus. In questions and negatives *μὴν* is hardly translatable, but adds the strongest possible emphasis to the word which immediately precedes it. — 25. **εἰσὶ νόμοι.** Here we must observe, as Dissen suggests, the contrast between the *ἀγῶνες ἀτίμητοι* and the *ἀγῶνες τιμητοί*: in the former case the laws themselves directed the nature and degree of punishment to be inflicted on the guilty; in the latter it was at the discretion of the jury to assign whatever penalty they thought proper; *τιμωρίαι*, penalties appointed by law, refer to the *ἀτίμητοι*; *ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις* refer to the *τιμητοί*; and the phrase *τάπιτίμια*, punishments, applies equally to a verdict affecting purse or person under either form of trial. — P. 6, l. 2. **τοῖς πρὸς ἐμέ** = the provisions applicable to my case. — **ὡμολογεῖτο ἄν.** *Would have been consistent with.* A similar use of the active voice, *ὁμολογεῖν*, is found in Antiph. de Chor. p. 145. *τοῖς λόγοις τοὺς μάρτυρας ὁμολογοῦντας καὶ τοῖς μάρτυσιν τὰ ἔργα.* — 15. 4. **τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ...ἐλέγχους.** The inquiries at the time of the deeds themselves. *ἐλέγχους* is to be taken in emphatic contrast with *αἰτίας καὶ σκώμματα καὶ λαιδορίας*; also *παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα* with *τοσοῦτους ὕστερον χρόνους*. Avoiding the inquiries proper at the time, he has brought together heaps of accusations and scoffings and revilings long afterwards. — 7. **ὑποκρίνεται.** He is playing his part. Vid. sup. 13, **ἐτραγῶδει.** Not very far from our own idea of *hypocrisy*: his conduct is underhand and dishonest; he plays the part of Ctesiphon's accuser, being really mine. — **κρίνει τουτονί.** Brings my client here to trial. *κρίνω* in its most technical sense, of the prosecutor entailing



κρίσις on the defendant. So *c. Mid.* p. 581, l. 13, etc. — 9. **προϊστάται.** *He makes the prominent feature of the trial.* A rare use of *προϊστάναι*. To *put in front* is, of course, the literal meaning, but the classical writers generally use it of *putting in front*, as a screen, or a champion. — **ἀπηντηκώς.** *Having never faced me on this ground.* ἀπαντᾶν of encountering an adversary point blank, and ἐπὶ of the ground selected for the combat. Dissen cites the *c. Mid.* p. 563, ἐπὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἀπηντων ὡς ἤλωκεν ἤδη. — 10. **τὴν ἐτέρου...φαίνεται.** *He is clearly seen to be seeking to take away the civil rights of another.* ἐπιτιμία is the opposite of ἀτιμία in its civil sense. See *Dict. of Antiq.* If Ctesiphon were cast in the suit he would have a fine inflicted upon him, and until this fine were paid he would be a public debtor and consequently ἀτιμος. Æschines had laid the damages at the enormous sum of fifty talents. — 16. 15. **ἐξετασμόν.** According to some grammarians this is not a pure Attic form. Certainly ἐξετασις is the usual word, and ἐξετασμός does not occur elsewhere except in Plutarch. But Dissen marks the true distinction: ἐξετασμόν ποιεῖσθαι, *disceptare*, de litigantibus, at ποιεῖν ἐξετασιν iudicium est, cf. 226: τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἐξετασιν ποιήσιν ὑμᾶς. — 17. **ἐτέρῳ ὄτῳ.** Either by attraction for ἕτερον ὄτῳ, or else an indirect question: *to seek what other person we can do a mischief to.* The former is the usual interpretation.

17. I DENOUNCE THE WHOLE ACCUSATION AS FALSE; BUT I SHALL ALSO EXPOSE ITS FALSEHOOD IN DETAIL. I MUST THEREFORE REMIND YOU OF THE HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

20. **ἐπ' ἀληθείας οὐδεμιᾶς.** *Nor with any truth whatever.* The sense of ἐπὶ is (1) superposition: and hence (2) intimate connection. When the accusative follows ἐπὶ, *moving towards* that connection is implied; when the dative, *resting in* that connection; when the genitive, *being in* that connection *and yet separate*. This complex notion is due to the fact, that separation is one essential force belonging to the genitive case. So a ship is ἐπ' ἀγκύρας, connected with an anchor but separated from it by the cable: a rider is ἐφ' ἵππου, for there is no material union between the man and his horse. Yet in this last, and in many other instances, the dative might be put for the genitive with only a slight distinction of meaning. The distinction may be stated thus. When two objects are heterogeneous, capable of being joined together but incapable of coalescing, then, if the writer wishes to *impress* on the reader the idea of their *close union*, he puts the dative



after ἐπὶ, if he does not wish to impress that idea but yet to state their connection, he puts the genitive. ἐπὶ γῆς is *on* (and *above*) the surface of the earth; it is opposed to ὑπὸ γῆς (Soph. *O. T.* 416): but ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ is *in* the country. With nouns representing the abstract (e. g. ἀληθείας) the genitive is peculiarly appropriate. — 21. καθ' ἑν. To be taken adverbially. There is a valuable note on this use of κατὰ in Buttmann's *Midias* (Index, s. v.). He points out that such expressions are generally adverbial, but observes that κατὰ, in many cases, coalesces entirely with the accusative which follows it, so as to be treated as a noun for purposes of construction. ὁ μὲν ἀθρόους πείθει ὁ δὲ καθ' ἕνα, Plat. *Alc.* I. 22; ἀντέσχομεν πρὸς τε σύμπαντας καὶ καθ' ἑκάστους, Thucyd. II. 64. Cf. Herod. II. 93. — 24. Φιλοκράτους. A politician of some prominence at the close of the Olynthian war. His name recurs again and again in the rival speeches of the orator and Æschines, each of them disclaiming complicity with him and imputing such complicity to the other; ὁ σὺς, Αἰσχίνῃ, κοινωνῶς, οὐχ ὁ ἐμὸς (*inf.* 21). Philocrates, in the year 348, proposed that Philip should be allowed to send envoys to Athens, and to treat of peace. For this a charge of παράνομα was laid against him, and, as he was too ill to speak for himself, Demosthenes addressed the assembly in his defence. In the year 347 Philocrates proposed to send envoys to Philip for a peace negotiation, and named Demosthenes as one of them. See *Introduction*, II. In 346, on the famous 18th of Elaphebolion (*inf.* κοινοῦ συνεδρίου, 22), it was Philocrates who advocated peace and alliance with Macedon. This policy proving a disgrace to Athens, Hyperides impeached him shortly after, and he fled into exile sooner than face a trial. They condemned him in his absence. It is clear that he was bribed by Philip and made an ostentatious display of the money so acquired. — 26. κατ' ἐκείνους. Throughout the course of that period: κατὰ, always of motion along (or guidance by) a definite line, moral or material. The accusative which follows κατὰ describes the whole of that line's direction, the genitive denotes its starting or finishing point. When this genitive marks the finishing point, hostility is usually implied. — 27. πρὸς. With an eye to the subsisting crisis: πρὸς, as distinguished from κατὰ, is suggestive of a mark or goal, rather than of the line which leads to it. πρὸς followed by the accusative = acting with that goal or mark in view; by the dative = having reached the goal and remaining there; by the genitive (case of separation, as before) = being at the goal and taking action from it.

18-24. LET ME RECALL TO YOUR MINDS THE HISTORY OF THE YEARS 357 TO 346; THE DISSENSIONS OF GREECE, AND PHILIP'S ADVANTAGES THEREIN. PEACE WAS CONCLUDED THROUGH THE TREACHERY OF ÆSCHINES AND HIS PARTY. I, AT LEAST, HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH IT. IF IT WAS *my* DOING, WHY DID THEY NOT DENOUNCE ME AT THE TIME?

18. P. 7, l. 1. τοῦ Φωκικοῦ. *Introduction*, II. — συστάντος. *Having been set in operation.* συνιστάναι is to *organize* either for good or evil. The orator wishes to impute external agency, originating in Macedon or at Athens, as the prime cause of the Phocian outbreak. — 2. ἐπολιτευόμεν. *Had not yet engaged in politics*: lit. *was not yet, at that time, administering the government.* The definite οἷω gives to the imperfect the force of a pluperfect. This use of πολιτεύεσθαι is suggestive: the ideal citizen was to take an active part in *administration*. — τότε. His earliest public speeches were *adv. Leptin.* and *c. Androt.* spoken in 355, that is, two years *after* the beginning of the Phocian war. His earliest political speech, *de Symmoriis*, was in 354. — 4. σωθῆναι. *To hold their own.* We could not wish them victory, their cause being a wrong one, but only a safe issue under compromise. — οὐ δίκαια. *Anything but right*: the common figure *meiosis*; so immediately below, οὐκ ἀλόγως, οὐ μετρίως, and *passim*. — ποιοῦντας. i. e. in the whole of their policy. Dindorf refers this remark to their plunder of the Delphic treasury in particular. But if the orator had meant to imply such a special instance of wrong-doing, he would surely have written ποιήσαντας. — 5. ἐφησθῆναι. Like ἐπιχαλερεῖν, always of *malicious* joy. This tone of Athenian feeling towards Thebes is illustrated throughout the *adv. Leptin.* Observe the force of ἄν = *you would have been delighted at*. On the participial construction in Greek where other languages would employ a substantival sentence cf. C. 677; Cu. 592; H. 800; *Madv. Gk. S.* 174 b. — 7. Λεύκτροις. The Sacred or Phocian war commenced fourteen years after the date of this battle, and five years after the date of Mantinea. ἐκέχρηστο refers to the period between Leuctra and Mantinea, during which the Thebans retained their supremacy in Greece, and made their four consecutive invasions of the Peloponnesus. οἷς dative by attraction. ἐν is the regular preposition to denote the place of a battle. — 8. διεστῆκει. *Was eternally divided.* They *had become completely* divided, and hence were perpetually in that state. — 9. οἱ μισοῦντες. These, as Pausanias informs us (4. 28), were the Mes-

senians with the Argives and Arcadians, who all looked to Athens for aid and alliance. — 10. οἱ πρότερον. At the close of the Peloponnesian war the Lacedæmonians established a council of oligarchs in every Greek city where the step was practicable, the said council (δεκαρχία) consisting of ten members (ἀρμοσταί) chosen from among such of the inhabitants as favored the supremacy of Lacedæmon. Their tyranny in the several states appears to have been unlimited. Xen. *Hellenic*. III., 5. 13. ; Isocr. *Panath.*, p. 239. They were all put down immediately after the Lacedæmonian defeat at Leuctra. — 12. ἄκριτος. *Promiscuous*, i. e. involving infinite complications and combinations. The various meanings of ἄκριτος all trace back to the primary derivation, *that which cannot be separately distinguished*. Whiston refers, by way of illustration, to the Homeric usage of this word in μῦθοι ἄκριτοι, *endless words*, and ἄχρεα ἄκριτα, *interminable sorrows*. — 19. 14. οὐ...ἀφανῆ. *Anything but hard to perceive*. Another instance of meiosis. — προδόταις. The alleged traitors in each state are specified by name in 295. Some of them, as Bremi observes, were probably conciliated by Philip's courtesy, and their own antagonism to the democracy; not by pecuniary bribes. — 14 - 16. τοῖς παρ' ἐκάστοις...ἐτάραττεν. *By lavishing money on the traitors in the several states, he was embroiling them all and stirring them up against each other*. The imperfects suggest the sustained and gradual progress of Philip's intrigues. For αὐτούς some MSS. read ἀλλήλους, probably a correction. The reflexive pronoun, in all the best authors, is occasionally used as a synonyme of the reciprocal. ἐκάστοις and πάντας are in emphatic antithesis. — 16. ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτανον. *By the mistakes and misjudgments of others he was making his own preparations, and fostering his growth to the ruin of all*. ἐν of cause or means, the ground on which he took his stand, and the depot from which he drew his materials. ἄλλοι, those who were not treacherous but merely ill-advised, distinct from προδόταις. κατά, of hostility, is like our colloquial phrase to come down upon. See 17, note κατ' ἐκείνους, end. — 18. τῷ μῆκει τοῦ πολέμου. The war lasted nine years. — 19. νῦν δ' ἀτυχéis. An obvious allusion to the destruction of Thebes by Alexander, five years before this speech was delivered. — 20. καταφεύγειν. The Theban alliance with Athens did not really take place till Philip seized Elatea, nearly nineteen years after the time the orator refers to. ὥς=as, or since. φανεροί.. ἀναγκασθησόμενοι personal for impersonal construction=it was manifest to all that they would soon be compelled.

C. 573, c; Cu. 571; G. 280; H. 771. — 23. ἐπηγγέλατο. *Made proffers of.* ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι denotes publicity with a view to some definite effect or cause. Hence it includes the meanings "to command," "to denounce," "to promise," "to make a profession." — 20. 23. τί οὖν. *What then co-operated with him to catch you in a state of almost wilful deception?* ὀλίγου δεῖν qualifies ἐκόντας only: the force of the imperfect participle (ἐξαπατωμένους) reminds them that their state of deception had been chronic. As regards the construction of ὀλίγου δεῖν, the ὀλίγου is the natural genitive following a verb of privation, and δεῖν is a substantival infinitive used adverbially in the accusative case (like ἀρχήν, τέλος, προῖκα, κ. τ. λ.): this accusative is closely akin to the accusative of Relation. C. 665; H. 575, a. — 25. ἡ τῶν ἄλλων. The article agrees with a feminine nominative implied in εἴτε...εἰπεῖν. *The cowardice, ought I to call it, or the ignorance.* So ἡ ὑμετέρα, εἴτε χρή φιλανθρωπίαν λέγειν, εἰθ' ὅτι δῆποτε, c. Aristoc. p. 671 (fin.). — 27. πόλεμον refers to the whole period between the capture of Amphipolis by Philip in the year 358 and the peace which was concluded in 346. The expenses of the war are estimated by Æschines at 1500 talents (*de F. L.*, p. 37). — P. 8, l. 2. σώμασιν. *Troops:* soldiers regarded as so many "head." Our own use of "person" is somewhat analogous. Whiston aptly cites τὰ ἐλεύθερα σώματα ἀφῆκε Λύσανδρος. Xen. *Hell.* II., 1, 20. — 5. ὑπηκούσατε. *Lent an ear:* "acquiescence" is meant, not "subjection." συγχωρηθεῖσα, afterwards, implies a concession involving sacrifices. — 8. ἐν αὐτῇ. From the year 346 to 338. See *Introduction*, II. — πραγμάτων. *Troubles:* the constant Attic euphemism, especially when speaking of litigation. — 10. ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας, *for the sake of the truth*, not because they concern me at all, as he proceeds to argue. ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι = *I am stating accurately and rehearsing at length.* — 21. 11. τὰ μάλιστα. *Ever so much:* another adverbial accusative: = granting the condition to be fulfilled at its maximum. The addition of τὰ μάλιστα invariably converts a conditional sentence into a concessive. — 13. δῆπου. *I presume*, as πού is *I think*. δῆ always signifies in truth, and its compounds retain that essential meaning whether seriously or ironically. So δῆθεν (always ironical), forsooth, ὅτε δῆ, when actually, i. e. the moment when, ἐπειδὴ, since in fact, etc. — 14. Ἀριστόδημος. A famous tragic actor highly esteemed by Philip, and intrusted by the state with a sort of roving commission to inquire Philip's probable policy, when visiting Macedonia on a

professional tour. *Æschin. de F. L.*, p. 49. *Dem. de F. L.*, pp. 344, 371, 442. Cf. *Cic. de Repub. IV.*, 11. — ὁ δ' ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ γράψας, *the person who seconded him and drew up the resolution.* μετὰ τούτου. With *Æschines*, cf. οὗτος above, 20. — 16. Ἀγνούσιος. Hagnus was the name of the deme to which Philocrates (17, note) belonged. It was originally written with a smooth breathing, as if derived from the plant ἄγνος (ἀγνος), the *agnus castus*. See Vömel, *Prolegom.*, 144; *Smith's Dic. of Antiq. and Dic. of Geog.* — 17. οὐχ ὁ ἐμός. Up to the close of 347 the orator seems to have been at least on good terms with Philocrates, though their policy was not at any time identical. Philocrates was always proposing and advocating peace negotiations in Philip's interest. Demosthenes, whenever he assented to these negotiations, did so under a sense of stern political necessity; for instance, when it became imperative to rescue the prisoners on the capture of Olynthus. After the beginning of 346 the policy of Philocrates was yet more decidedly opposite to that of the orator. The statement of *Æschines* (*de F. L.*, p. 30, c. *Ctes.*, p. 64) that the two were acting in concert is totally inconsistent with historical facts on record. — 19. Εὐβουλος. Of the deme Anaphlystus, the orator and demagogue who supported Midias against Demosthenes. Not to be confounded with the comic poet, whose deme was the Cettian. — Κηφισοφῶν. Named in the psephisma 29 as one of the ambassadors sent to Philip. "Cephisophon supported *Æschines* in the accusation against *Ctesiphon*." WHISTON. — ἐγὼ δ' οὐδέν οὐδαμοῦ. It has been the fashion to stigmatize this statement as a deliberate falsehood on the orator's part; but, I think, most unjustly. He is referring only to the peace of the year 346; at least, his language commits him to nothing further; and in all the discussions of that period we cannot find, from historical records, that the orator ever declared himself in favor of the peace proposed by Philocrates. He expressly denies having done so (*de F. L.*, pp. 345, 346). The only evidence that he did is the assertion of *Æschines* (c. *Ctesiph.*, p. 64) that Demosthenes delivered an oration in support of Philocrates on the day of the second assembly. Little credit need be attached to this in any case; but *Æschines* himself (*de F. L.*, p. 36) quotes a ψήφισμα to prove that, on that second day of the assembly, no speaking was allowed and nothing transacted but voting. See Grote. — 22. 20, 21. τούτων... δεικνυμένων; Although these things are so, and shown to be so by the truth itself. ἐπὶ=on the basis of. — 22. ἄρα. As it seems: the lightest of infer-

ential particles implying a sequence and connection, but only a slight one, whether temporal or logical. It frequently, as here, suggests irony = *forsooth*. — 23. αἵτιος. *The guilty cause*. There are two heads of the accusation: (1) making peace, (2) making peace for Athens independently. καί = *also*. On the nominative case see *Madv. Gr. S.* 161; C. 667; Cu. 570; G. 136, N. 2; H. 775. — 24. κοίνου συνεδρίου. *A general synod* met at Athens, formed of representatives from each of the confederate states. The orator touches here on the much-vexed question, reproduced again and again in the speeches of himself and Æschines, as to the policy they advocated respectively, on the 18th and 19th of Elaphebolion (approximately the end of March), in the year 346. Immediately after the fall of Olynthus, in the spring of 347, Athens had sent envoys to all the eligible Grecian states, urging them to join in their own negotiations with Philip, and to take the result, whether peace or war. In the spring of 346 the general synod were sitting to receive the report of these envoys. What actually passed at the sitting has not been put on record, but we can deduce from the conflicting orations: (1) that some of the envoys had returned, but many were still absent; (2) that the synod passed a resolution recommending that two ἐκκλησίαι be convened *immediately on the return of all the envoys*, and that the subject of peace be then and there debated. This recommendation of the confederate Synod was accepted, but only in part. The two assemblies (already mentioned) were held on the 18th and 19th of Elaphebolion, and the question of peace was fully discussed. *But this was done without waiting for the return of the absent envoys*. — 25. εἴτ' ὦ — τί. *Then you — by what name could one rightly call you; that is, what name can I find that is bad enough for you*. — 26. ἔστιν, *when and where was it that you, being present and seeing me robbing the state of so important a negotiation and alliance as you were just now rehearsing, expressed indignation or came forward and made known and explained what you now charge me with*. πρᾶξις καὶ συμμαχία is on no account to be taken as a hendiadys; the former word generalizes what the latter specifies, and πρᾶξις simply means *negotiation*. The emphasis on σὺ must be carefully preserved. The παρα- in παρέρχεσθαι is suggestive: in all the ancient assemblies the speakers were required to address the meeting from a raised platform or pulpit; in passing to it from their seat they would move *before* or *alongside of* their audience. — 23. P. 9, l. 3, 4. εἰ...ἐπεπράκειν ἐγὼ Φιλίππῳ, *if I had sold to PHILIP the preventing, etc., that is,*



if I had been bought (bribed) by Philip to prevent, etc. Observe the emphatic juxtaposition of ἐγώ and Φιλίππῳ. — 5. λοιπὸν ἦν. You had still the opportunity. This throws an emphasis on the pluperfect ἐπεπράκειν. — 6. τοίνυν. Well then. The particle is much stronger than ἄρα, and almost as strong as οὖν. Both οὖν and τοίνυν are distinctly transitional, as well as being illative. It resembles *now then* in colloquial English. As regards etymology, οὖν = ἐόν, epic neut. part. of εἶμι, in the acc. abs. (*quæ quum ita sint*). — 8. εἰκότως. And naturally so. To render the force of this favorite adverb a separate sentence is indispensable. — 9. τότε. "Demosthenes intimates that envoys had been sent *previously*, viz., just after the fall of Olynthus, to invite the other Greeks to form a confederacy against Philip. He denies that any such embassy was sent out *while* 'the peace' was negotiating, and in this he seems to speak the truth." GROTE, XI., 508 (Eng. ed.). Whiston; cf. 22, note κοινοῦ συνεδρίου. — 10. ἐξεληλεγμένοι. *Thoroughly tested*, and proved unwilling to unite with Athens against Philip. ἐξ-, in composition, of intensity. The perf. passive of ἐλέγχω has always the double reduplication. — 24. 14. αὐτοί. *Yourselves*. αὐτός and its cases, when used emphatically, are placed in a prominent part of the sentence (e. g. the beginning), or else have καί prefixed as an intensive. The force of ἅμα is better expressed with αὐτοί, *while at the same time you yourselves*. — 15. Εὐρυβάτου. On the rather uncertain authority of Ephorus (the historian of Cumæ) we are told that Eurybatus was a citizen of Ephesus, who received money from Cræsus to raise troops for his war with the Persians, and then deserted to the camp of Cyrus. The same name appears to have been borne by one of the Cercopes (fire-diviners). See Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 2, p. 1306. In either case the Scholiasts are safe in taking the person mentioned as a type of γόης, κλέπτῃς, πανούργος. Cf. *Æsch. c. Ctesiph.*, p. 71. — 17. τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι. *For with what intent after all?* — 18. τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ. I understand the orator to mean, by *this crisis*, the date of those two meetings on the recommendation of the Synod. The mission of the envoys having, by then, been proved a complete failure, Athens might be said to have abandoned her task of soliciting the Grecian states with her embassies. Why, asks the orator, should she have resumed it, and for what end should she have asked the states to co-operate? For peace? Nay, but the other states were enjoying that; Athens alone had need of it. For war? Nay, but all idea or possibility of war was over, and peace was the only



question. In this instance, as in the ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ (21, note, s. v.), the orator could justify his statement as virtually true, if not literally. — 21. ἐξ ἀρχῆς. The *original* peace of the year 346 is distinguished by this epithet from the peace which followed Chæroneæ. — οὐδ' αὐτός. *Nor in any way responsible.* οὔτε...οὔτε are co-ordinate, while οὐδέ is subordinate and emphatic. C. 701, c; Cu. 625, Obs.; II. 858, b. — ἡγεμών. All that the orator denies is the fact of his taking a prominent part in the peace proposals of Philocrates (c. *Ctesiph.*, p. 62, 63); he does not say that he opposed peace in the abstract, but only that he neither originated nor supported the peace which was actually made. When the public assembly had agreed to accept it, he did his utmost to make the best of a bad bargain, but that by no means committed him to having approved the measure.

25-28. COMPARE MY POLITICAL CONDUCT WITH THAT OF MY ACCUSERS, AT THE TIME WHEN THE CITY HAD DECIDED ON PEACE. WHEN THE OATHS HAD BEEN TAKEN BY US AND OUR ALLIES, I PROPOSED A DECREE TO ACCELERATE THE DEPARTURE OF OUR OWN DELEGATES, WHO WERE TO ADMINISTER THE OATHS TO PHILIP. ÆSCHINES IGNORES *this* DECREE, AND ASSAILS ME ABOUT ANOTHER WHICH WAS MERELY TRIVIAL, REFERRING TO THE RECEPTION OF THE MACEDONIAN DELEGATES AT ATHENS.

25. 24. ἐποιήσατο = *made on her own part*; the middle ποιῆσθαι having here a fuller sense than it usually has in connection with εἰρήνην. On Philip's part, as the context shows us, peace was not yet concluded. — 25. σκέψασθε. In the imperative mood the sole force of the aorist, as contrasted with the present, is to indicate a single and complete act instead of a protracted and continuous process. In the subjunctive, optative, and infinitive moods the aorist sometimes exhibits this same difference from the present; at other times it retains its natural force as a preterite. — P. 10, l. 2. ἔγραψα βουλευόν. *Moved a resolution, being a member of the Council.* On the 25th of Elaphebolion the oaths of peace and alliance were administered, to Athens and all her allies, by Antipater, as Philip's delegate. It was now essential for Athens herself to send delegates *with all speed*, and administer the same oath to Philip. Yet for 7 days nothing was done; on the 8th day (Munychion the 3d) a resolution, that delegates should start at once, was proposed by Demosthenes, as he alleges here. Æschines admits it was proposed that day, but does not mention by whom (*de F. L.*, p. 40, l. 28 sq.). According to Demosthenes

(*de F. L.*, p. 390) the delegates on leaving Athens went and stopped at Oreus in Eubœa, and wasted many days there before they started for Macedonia. They were fifty days altogether before they achieved the interview with Philip at Pella. This explains the sequel, *οὔτοι... ἠθέλησαν*. — 4. *τοὺς ὅρκους ἀπολαμβάνειν*, to receive the oaths in return (*ἀπό*). — 26. 6. *ἰδύνατο*. *Id quo valebat? Of what avail were this?* (Vömel). — 8. *τῶν ὀρκων*. The oaths on the Athenian part and the oaths on the Macedonian. The genitive dependent on any word of interval (like *μεταξύ*) specifies the two extreme points between which the interval lies; or one such extreme point, the mention of the other being unnecessary because implied by the context. Cf. the parallel passage *de F. L.*, p. 393, 181, *τὸν μεταξύ χρόνον τοῦ τοὺς ὀρκους ἀπολαβεῖν*, where one extremity alone is named, the obtaining Philip's attestation. — 11. *ἐξέλυσασθε*. The active voice is more usual in the sense of *breaking up*. *ἐξέλυσάτε* is the reading of Σ here. But the middle voice gives the better additional sense, *on your own part and in your own armaments*. — 13. *ἐπραγματεύετο*. *Was making this his chief concern*. The verb is always of laborious and systematic effort, never transitive, though frequently constructed with a cognate accusative. — 14. *τῆς πόλεως*. Possessive genitive depending on *ἔσα*. The state might be said to *possess* these places in Thrace, as the Thracians were their allies [Bremi]. The optative *προλάβου* (*præoccuparet*) is due to the *oratio obliqua*. — 27. 16. *προορώμενος*. An historic present, as is also *γράφω* which follows. Hence followed by the final clause *ἵνα γίνωντο*, although *ἐν οἷς ἂν ᾗ* would strictly belong to the present time; but this is an instance of the common Greek idiom which sacrifices grammar for the sake of vivid and graphic delineation in the subordinate clause. — 21. *διέσυρε*. *Was pulling to pieces*. *διασύρειν* (always metaphorical) denotes sarcastic ridicule. Cf. *Æschin. c. Ctesiph.*, p. 65, l. 37, *οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ πρῶτος ἐξευρὼν Σέρρειον τεῖχος καὶ Μυρτίσκην καὶ Ἐργίσκην... χωρία ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ᾗδεμεν πρότερον*, where the perversion of the names is of course intentional. — 22. *Σέρρειον*. Herod. VII., 59, Livy XXXI., 16. Myrtenus is only found in this passage. *Ergiske* in *De Halon.*, p. 85. They were all, apparently, places on the sea-coast of Thrace, and hence important to Philip as opening the way for his acquisitions in that quarter. The article seems to be prefixed to these names here because *Æschines* had spoken contemptuously of them. Cf. *Phil. III.*, 16, where *Σέρρειον* occurs without the article. — 22. *οὕτω* = under

these circumstances and no others. 7, end. Madvig., 175 a. — 24. **ἐπικαίρους**. Cf. ὦν τὸ μὲν ἐπικαιρότατον χωρίον πρὸς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης ἐπιχρῆσθαι. Thucyd., I., 68. — 25. **χρημάτων**. Disсен refers this to the gold mines of Crenides, afterwards called Philippi, from which Philip, when he got possession of them, managed to obtain more than a thousand talents annually. — **πολλῶν μὲν...πολλῶν δέ**, *an abundant supply both of money and of men*. — 26. **ἐκ τούτων**, *from these*, as source and means. — 28. P. 11, l. 1. **εἰ**. We should rather expect this object-sentence to be introduced by ὅτι, but the use of εἰ, instead, is common after verbs expressing disapprobation. *But that I, being on the Council, thought proper to introduce the ambassadors*, sc. into the theatre, as was customary at Athens, *this is a matter he taunts me about*. — 3. **ἐχρῆν**. *Ought to have*: strictly imperfect: it was right to do it, but it was not done. — 4. **μή**. To be taken closely with προσάγειν, γράψαι preceding—*ought I to have moved not to introduce*. This is obvious from the μὴ κατανεῖμαι of the next clause. — 5. **διαλεχθῶσιν**. On the subjunctive after the historic tenses, see Madv., 131 b, and note on 27, **προορώμενος**. C. 653; Cu. 531 b; G. 216, 2; H. 740. — **ἀρχιτέκτονα**. The person who hired the theatre from the state, kept it in order and repair, and took the profits of the admission payments: analogous to our “lessee.” He was also called *θεατρῶνης* and *θεατροπώλης*. — **θέαν κατανεῖμαι**, *to assign them seats*, literally (like λόγον διδόναι, 13), *to allow them a seeing*: *θέαν καταλαμβάνειν* is the correlative expression. c. Mid. 572. — 6. **τοῖν δυοῖν**=the unreserved places, literally, *in the two oboli seats*. The price is put for the locus. Two obols was the payment demanded from everybody except those who received, by privilege, reserved seats (*προεδρία*). The poorer citizens were often presented, from the Theoric fund, with the money to pay for admission (*Philip.*, 4, p. 141). Some editors understand ἐν of the means, i. e. *by payment of*; but less aptly. — 9. **λέγε**, i. q. *ἀναγίγνωσκε*. The latter is more strictly correct, but the former equally common. λαβὲ τὸ βιβλίον καὶ λέγε, Plat. *Theætet.*, 143 c. *λέγειν* suggests the vocal element of reading, *ἀναγινώσκειν* suggests the intellectual. The latter strictly means to *re-know*, know *up*, or know thoroughly, which can only be by *reading* a written document. The orator is here addressing the secretary (*γραμματεὺς*) of the Archons.

29. ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Clearly not a genuine document. And the same may be said of all the documents, of which thirty-four are appealed

to and twenty-seven given at length, in this oration. The question is too voluminous by far for discussion in the present work, but the points of interest will be briefly noticed in their places. For further information, see Böckh (*Comm. de Archontibus Pseudonymis, apud Acta Academiae Borussicae*, 1827), Droysen (*Museum Rhenanum*, Vol. II., 1845). An attempted defence of these documents as genuine will be found in Böhmek (*Quæst.*, Vol. I., p. 321 sq.) and Vömel (*Museum Rhenanum*, 1842, p. 535). In a paper on "The Chronology of some of the Events mentioned in Demosthenes on the Crown," read by Professor W. W. Goodwin of Harvard University before the American Philological Association, at its meeting in New Haven, in 1872, the authority of these documents is discussed. The Professor says that, if these documents are taken as authority, it is absolutely impossible to make any consistent chronology of the events which preceded the battle of Chæronea, and it will strike every one who examines the subject that not a single name of an Archon, and not a single date given in the documents, can be shown to be correct. See Transactions of the Am. Phil. Assoc., 1871 and 1872. See, also, a concise *resumé* of the arguments, on both sides, in Professor Champ-  
lin's "Appendix on the Documents," in his edition of the "Oration on the Crown." — **Μνησιφίλου**. The real name of the Archon in 347 B. C. was Themistocles. — **ἐκατομβαιῶνος**. The meeting was held on Munychion the 3d, not on Hecatombæon the 30th. For the names of the Attic months, and the manner of numbering the days of the month, see *Lid. and Sc. Lex.*, and Smith's *Die. of Antiqq.*, Greek Calendar. From the same sources, the student should also acquaint himself with the constitution of the βουλή, and the presidency (πρυτανεία) of the ἐκκλησία. — **δεδοχθαι**. The usual elliptic infinitive in public proclamations, [ὁ δεῖνα] εἶπεν being understood. The reading δεδόχθω is found, but is obviously a mere correction. — **καὶ τῷ δήμῳ**. This is incorrect. Referring to the same decree in the *de F. L.*, 389, the orator says γράφω ψήφισμα βουλευῶν, τὴν βουλὴν ποιήσαντος τοῦ δήμου κυρίαν. That is, the δῆμος had given absolute power to the βουλὴ to pass ψηφίσματα for the time on their own authority. The δῆμος, therefore, had nothing to do with this ψήφισμα. Æschines, *de F. L.*, p. 40, calls it distinctly τὸ βουλῆς ψήφισμα. — **ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ**. Peace was agreed to on Elaphebolion the 19th, which was the day of the *second* assembly, not the *first*. τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἐν ᾗ τὴν εἰρήνην ξεδει κυροῦσθαι. *de F. L.*, p. 345. — **ὑπερβολὴν** never means

*delay* in classical Greek. In Σ a correction, ἀναβολήν, has been inserted by a later hand. — καὶ δοῦναι. But the oath of Athens and their allies had already been received by Antipater. The envoys were solely commissioned to administer the oath to Philip. *Sup.* 27. — πρέσβεις. The ambassadors were *ten* in number, and a list of them will be found in the Argument to the *de F. L.* None of the names in this ψήφισμα appears there excepting that of Æschines.

30. IN SPITE OF MY DECREE THE ENVOYS THREW AWAY THEIR OPPORTUNITIES, BEING BRIBED TO DO SO BY PHILIP.

13. φροντίσαντες has for its object the contents of the concessive clause ταῦτα...ζητοῦντος, *whereas I had moved this psephisma and was seeking the interest of the state, and not that of Philip, these worthy ambassadors caring little about it.* — P. 12, l. 1. τρεῖς μῆνας. They were absent from Athens 26 days of Munychion, all Thargelion, and 13 days of Skirophorion. But this included their journey to Macedon and back, so that δλους is rather a stretch of imagination. — 3. ἡμερῶν. The rationale of this genitive of time (*within*) may be stated thus. As the genitive plural, dependent on a word of *interval*, specifies the two extreme points between which the interval lies, so the genitive can stand adverbially to represent two extremes with an interval between them. Note ὅρκων, 26. Compare C. 433; G. 179; Cu. 426; H. 591. — 6. ἡμῶν. Demosthenes himself was one of the embassy, but no doubt he may mean by ἡμῶν that the embassy represented the nation at large. παρόντων is imperfect. — ἤ. *Or else.* Madv., 186, r. 1. — 7. διημαρτήκει. The pluperfect with ἂν expresses the completeness of the failure in the supposed case, and the δι- still further intensifies the word = *forever and utterly.* — 8. ἂν εἶχε. Philip was holding the places still; if he had lost them again the orator would have said ἂν ἔσχε. Note, 9, ἂν ἀπελογούμην.

31-37. ANOTHER ACT OF VILLANY FOLLOWED. BRIBED BY PHILIP, THEY MADE YOU THE REPORT WHICH LED TO HIS SEIZURE OF THERMOPYLÆ AND DESTRUCTION OF THE PHOCIANS. I ONLY ALLUDE TO THIS EXTRANEOUS MATTER BECAUSE ÆSCHINES HAS DONE THE LIKE IN HIS ACCUSATION. REMEMBER THE PARTICULARS OF THAT HISTORICAL CRISIS.

31. 11. δωροδόκημα. *Piece of venality.* The concrete put for the abstract. — 13. πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεσθαι. *I am at war and enmity;* active hostility is implied by πολεμεῖν, passive by διαφέρεσθαι. A somewhat different view is taken by Kennedy, who holds this to be

an anti-climax, and translates "war and variance." See his note on the passage. — 14. ἐφεξῆς. *Deinceps, in immediate succession*, like the links of a chain, which would be said ἔχουσθαι ἀλλήλων. — 32. 17. διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας. In consequence of *these men not having obeyed at all*. — 18. παρ' αὐτῶν, i. e. those envoys who were venal: this third person contrasts well with the first person in ἀπίωμεν, the orator including himself by the latter as he excludes himself by the former. Σ, however, reads ἀπίωσιν. — 20. ποιήσαντο. In historic consecution introduced by the historic present ὠνεῖται. *Sup.*, 27, προορώμενος. — 21. μέλλει. The present tense is the direct form of quotation instead of the indirect, *when we had reported that he intends* (root *μεν*=*minds, means*) and *is preparing*. — 23. ὥσπερ πρότερον, i. e. in the year 353 (Whiston says, "about May, 352"; Grote, "about midsummer, 352"), when Philip wanted to effect a junction with the Thebans against the Phocians, by forcing his way through Thermopylæ, which the Phocians were then endeavoring to hold. An Athenian force was despatched with unusual expedition, under Nausicles, and placed Thermopylæ beyond the possibility of Philip's attack. The orator is constantly alluding to this. *Phil.*, I., p. 44; *de F. L.*, p. 444, etc. — 24. ἀλλ' ἅμα. *But that, at one and the same moment, you might be listening to us, and he be within Pylæ, and you have nothing left you to do*. It is not, I think, correct to understand ἔχειν here of *ability*=*and you be able to do nothing*; the sense would be much the same of course, but the graphic force of *μηδὲν ἔχειν* would be lost. — 33. 27. καί. Strongly concessive=*even though*. — P. 13, l. 2. τὰ πράγματα. *His affairs should slip from his grasp*. A poetical use of ἐκφεύγω· τὸ δὲ ζητούμενον | ἀλωτόν· ἐκφεύγει δὲ τὰ μελούμενον, *Soph. O. R.*, 110. — 3. μισθοῦται. On the difference between ὥστε with the indicative and the infinitive see *Madv.* 166 a; *C.* 671; *Cu.* 565; *H.* 770, 771. In brief, the distinction is that the infinitive following ὥστε expresses a result more as a conception, the indicative more as a reality. Here the *hiring* is expressly asserted as a fact. The distinction of *time* suggested by Holmes is obscure, and, like too many of his grammatical distinctions, fanciful. — 34. 6. ἀξιῶ δέ. *I require and entreat you*. In contrast with δεῖσθαι, ἀξιοῦν signifies to *ask as a right*. ἡξιῶν καὶ παρεκελεύοντο ἐπεξελθεῖν, p. 515; ἡξίου δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ αὐτῷ δι' ἐκείνου γίνεσθαι τὰς διαλύσεις, p. 553. — 10. ἕτερον. Here in the sense of ἀλλότριον, *foreign*, i. e. *irrelevant*, a very rare use. ἕτερος ὁ λόγος οὗτος, οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ, p. 240. Cf. the parallel passage in 9, where



τᾶλλα is somewhat similarly put. — ἅμα, sc. τοῖς ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, *into the bargain*. — αἰτίας, 57, αἰτίας καὶ διαβολάς. — 11. τοῦτου κεκρημέ-  
νου expresses a reason = *inasmuch as he has made use of*. — 35. 13.  
παρά. An elegant substitute for the more obvious ὑπό. *On the part of*.  
Conversely ὑπό is substituted for παρά. πληγὰς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λαβών,  
p. 514 (fin.). — 14. ὥς οὐ δεῖ. Direct quotation again instead of in-  
direct. Here, besides being more vigorous, it has the advantage of  
professedly quoting the speech of Æschines *verbatim*. — 18. ἤκει pre-  
serves both its forces in this passage, a virtual perfect and an actual  
present: *he has been coming*. An instance of the adverbial accusative  
occurs immediately after in τούναντίον. — 19. τὰ ῥήματα. "*For ties  
of union,*" quoth he, in his very imposing phraseology, "*are cemented, not  
by words but by identity of interests.*" — 22. ἀναλγησίας. *Brutality or  
stupidity*. μὴ τλῆς ἄθαρπτον ὧδ' ἀναλγήτως βαλεῖν, Soph., *Aj.* 1333.  
Insensibility to pain taken as a type of all want of feeling. The  
epithet is notorious as applied to the Thebans. Cf. οἱ ἀναίσθητοι Θη-  
βαῖοι, p. 61, p. 240. ἀρχαῖον δνειδος Βοιωτίαν ἔν, Pind. *Ol.* VI., 90. —  
23. βαρύτητος. *Oppressiveness*. A rare sense of the word, almost  
without example. We find ἀηδίας καὶ βαρύτητος (Isoer. p. 239), and  
ἀηδία καὶ ἀναίσθησία (Dem. p. 564), which would rather lead us to  
expect that βαρύτης should mean *vexatiousness*. That the word, how-  
ever, is of more serious import we gather from οἱ τότε μὲν βαρεῖς Θη-  
βαῖοι, 19, and πόλεμος ὁμορος καὶ βαρύς, 241. Whiston renders it *over-  
bearing insolence*. — 36. 25. ὑποῦσαν. *Underlying*. They were not at  
open war, but the state of ill feeling was chronic, 18, note ἐφήσθῃναι.  
There are various readings, οἶσαν Cod. ε, ὑπάρχουσαν Aug. Vind., etc.  
(Vömel). — 26. οὐκ εἰς μακράν is a meiosis, stronger in meaning than  
εὐθύς. This proleptic use of εἰς is noticed in Madv. *Gr. S.* 79 a. —  
27. κατασκαφῆναι. The fortifications were destroyed and the towns  
broken up into villages. Abæ was the only exception, either because  
it contained an oracle of Apollo, or because it had not been a party to  
plundering the Delphic treasury. Pausanias, X., 3. 2. Grote. —  
P. 14, l. 1. ἀγαγόντας. This participle and the next introduce  
causal sentences, Madv. *Gr. S.*, 176 b. — 2. σκευαγωγεῖν. *Brought  
in your effects from the country*. 'Η ξυγκομιδὴ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ,  
Thucyd. II., 52. καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν κατακομίζειν  
ἐψηφίξεσθε καὶ τὰ φρούρια ἐπισκευάζειν, Dem., *de F. L.*, p. 379 (fin.).  
διὰ τὴν σὴν ἀνανδρίαν καὶ ἅμα φθόρον ἐσκευαγώγησαν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν οἱ  
'Αθηναῖοι, Æschin. *de F. L.*, p. 46. In such migrations to the shelter



of fortified walls, the rural population would naturally bring with them as many of their chattels as possible. *σκεύη* describes everything in the way of furniture excepting fixtures. They also brought their live stock. — 3. *χρυσίον* (strictly *a piece of gold*) is used by Æschines repeatedly of *gold given as a bribe*, pp. 78, 88, etc., where he is speaking of the bribes offered by Persia, τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον, p. 75. Possibly the use of his adversary's favorite word is meant by the orator to be a special taunt. — 4. *ἀπέχθειαν*. *Our city got all the ill-will on the part of Thebes and Thessaly, and Philip all the gratitude connected with what had been done*. We should rather have expected πρὸς to be followed by a genitive here; as it is written, we must understand that Athens had to take up an attitude of *defence against* them. A similar use of πρὸς will be found in p. 368, ὑμῶν μὲν τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους μείζω, Φιλίππῳ δὲ τὴν χάριν πεποίηκεν. — 37. ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. The inscription (Μνησιφίλου) and the date of this document (δεκατῇ ἀπιόντος) condemn it at once as spurious. The contents, however, are fairly consistent with allusions the orator makes himself, *de F. L.*, 379 (cited 36, *σκευαγωγεῖν*). He there alludes to the *φρούρια* being put in repair; here there is reference to their being garrisoned also. He there dwells on the migration of the inhabitants, here there is mention of the moving of their furniture. Yet Whiston and Newman take the opposite view, and consider the purport of this decree to conflict with the passage in the *de F. L.* — Μνησιφίλου. Sup. 29. — συγκλήτου. The *special* assembly, as distinct from the regular (*κυρία*), was *convened* by special officers; sometimes by the generals only, sometimes by a joint order of the generals and the Prytanes. If καί is rightly excluded by Dindorf, the latter would be intended here; if, with Bremi and Vömel, we retain καί, the sense becomes *by order of the generals, Prytanes, and Council*. — δεκάτῃ ἀπιόντος. *The 30th*. Vid. CALENDAR in Dict. of Antiq. But, as Dissen observes, the month Mæmacterion B. C. 346, would, according to Meton's cycle, contain 29 days only. — παρευρέσει. The word is a *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*: the Greek of the period would substitute προφάσσει: Herodotus certainly uses παρενρίσκειν, as Mr. Newman remarks; but Herodotus uses it in quite a different sense, *not to make a pretext of, but to detect in*. ἐς οὗ ἀποθάνωσι, ἢ σφι παρευρεθῇ τι ἄδικον, III., 31. — κοιταῖον. Greek of a later age, used twice by Polybius and once by Plutarch. The Greek of the period would substitute κοιμᾶσθαι. ἀπόκοιτος is classical, Æschin., p. 45, l. 2: but ἀποκοιτεῖν (*inf.*) and

ἀφημερεύειν are both ἀπαξ λεγόμενα. The great number of unclassical words in these documents is alone sufficient to condemn them as spurious. — ἀποτεταγμένοι. *Detached for the outlying garrisons*, as distinct from those who were τεταγμένοι in the city itself.

38. ἀδύνατον. *Insuperable difficulty* = legitimate excuse. Cf. p. 262, l. 23. — ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλων. *Commanding the heavy infantry* = ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, (148); (ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων (*ib.*)). We might possibly take ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλων, as *president of the armory department*. This officer is never mentioned excepting here and in 147; we have no description of his duties, nor can we be certain that such an office existed. It would be, however, a natural arrangement for each of the ten generals to take his special department and be designated in accordance therewith. — ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως. The *general of the administration*, who performed various civil services more or less connected with the army. See under Στρατηγός in Dict. of Antiq. — Ἐλευσίνα. This and the other four are among the φρούρια already alluded to. — 10. ἐπί = *with*, literally *on* the ground of. Observe the emphatic position of μισθωτός.

39-41. READ PHILIP'S LETTER OF THAT DATE. MARK HOW HE DEFIES THE POWER OF ATHENS, AND THEREBY SEDUCES TO HIS CAUSE THE THEBANS AND THE THESSALIANS. ÆSCHINES WORKED WITH HIM HEART AND SOUL FOR THAT RUIN OF THEBES WHICH HE NOW AFFECTS TO DEPLORE. HE, FORSOOTH, HAS GOT HIS REWARD IN THE SHAPE OF THEBAN LAND: I HAVE MINE IN THE MENACES OF ALEXANDER, WHICH ACTUALLY IMPERILLED MY LIFE.

39. P. 15. ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ. It is generally agreed that this document is spurious. Vömel alone defends it as genuine. A discussion of its merits is given by Böhneck (*Qu.*, Vol. I., p. 418). — χαίρειν. *Greeting*. Cf. δεδόχθαι, 29, note. — ὑφ' ἑαυτούς. Whiston pronounces this expression to be "strange and not ordinary Greek." It is, however, perfectly classical. τάδε πάντα πειράσασθαι ὑπὸ σφᾶς ποιέσθαι, Thuc., IV., 61. ἑαυτῶν is not unfrequently used of the 1st and 2d persons. — προσετίθετο. Dissen strangely considers this as a euphemism for forcible subjection. But ἐκουσίως implies distinctly a *voluntary association*, contrasted with τὰ μὴ ὑπακούοντα...κατεσκάψαμεν. Cf. 195, ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ προσέθεντο. — εἰσαγχοχότας. Buttmann has a valuable article on this and similar forms (*Leril.* s. v., ἀνήροθεν, p. 139). — κατὰ κράτος. *By force*. This is inconsistent, as Dissen remarks, with the passage in the *de F. L.*, p. 360, τὸ μηδεμίαν τῶν

πόλεων τῶν ἐν Φωκεύσιν ἄλῶναι πολιορκία μὴδ' ἐκ προσβολῆς κατὰ κράτος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ σπείσασθαι πάντας ἄρδην ἀπολέσθαι, μέγιστόν ἐστι σημεῖον τοῦ διὰ τούτους πεισθέντας αὐτοὺς ὡς ὑπὸ Φιλίππου σωθήσονται ταῦτα παθεῖν. Jacobs, however, insinuates that the orator thus perverted the facts to exaggerate the guilt of Æschines. — τοῖς ὅλοις. *Absolutely.* So τοῖς ὅλοις ἡττᾶσθαι ἐνύμιζον, p. 127 (*fin.*). Yet Newman, indorsed by Whiston, calls the phrase a "striking peculiarity." τὰ ὅλα, in the sense of *one's all*, is, on the contrary, extremely common, and the adverbial usage here is derived immediately from it. Whiston renders it, *in short*. — οὐδὲν μέτριον. *Anything but what is fair.* A meiosis rather than a euphemism. Dissen, however, maintains the latter. — ὁμοίως. *All the same.* A sense nearly approaching that of the contracted ὁμῶς. So 110, ὁμοίως τὸ συνειδὸς ὑπάρχειν μοι. — ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες. Imperfect of desire = *inclined to take the field*, contrasted with the aorist συνθέμενοι of what they had *actually* done. They had not gone to war, it is true, but it is equally true that they were thinking about it. — συμπεριελλημένων. *de F. L.*, p. 444, τὴν μὲν τοίνυν εἰρήνην ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσι καὶ ταῖς ἐπαγωγαῖς εὗροντο παρ' ὑμῶν ἄνευ Φωκέων. The Phocians were not mentioned in the treaty of peace, and thus their exclusion from its benefits was virtual though not special. — προτερήσετε. *You will get no advantage save that of being aggressors in wrong.* Whiston again considers the Greek "remarkable and unusual." Certainly προτερεῖν (in this sense) is common in Aristotle, and must have been quite accordant with Macedonian usage. And ἔξω, meaning *except*, is found in Herod., VII., 29; Thucyd., V., 97, etc., etc. — 40. 2. τοὺς συμμάχους. τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς. — 3. ἐγὼ stands well in emphasis at the beginning of this sentence. Cf. ἐμοὶ μὲν below. The ordinary reading was ταῦτα ἐγώ. Dindorf restored ἐγὼ ταῦτα from Σ. — 8. ὥχετο λαβών. *Lit. went off with, i. e. carried off along with him* a very frequent combination. ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς λαβών ὥχετο, p. 347. τὴν ἱερὰν... ὥχετ' ἔχων τριήρη, he carried off the sacred trireme, Phil., I., 34. — εἰς τό. The state of feeling into which he hurried them is introduced by εἰς, as if it were a material locus. *By these means he carried them away with him (transported them, as it were,) into an utter blindness and insensibility to the consequences.* Or εἰς may denote the *extent* to which he transported them out of themselves, *he carried them away with him to such an extent that they foresaw none of the consequences.* — 9. προορᾶν of the future, contrasted with αἰσθάνεσθαι of the present. The force of the aorist

ἔδσαι is striking. Their blindness was chronic and continuous; their surrender into his hands was single and complete at that moment. — 10. ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ is stronger than ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦς (39) in the ratio of a case of *station* to a case of *motion*. The latter describes the *process* of subjugation, the former the *state* of actual subjection. — 41. 13. **συναγωνιστής**. The element -αγων- in this and in *συνηγώνισατο* (20) suggests the *energy* and *activity* of his support; far stronger than *συνεργός*. Inf. 61. — 15. **διεξιών**. *Reciting*. An allusion, as before (13, *ἐτραγώδει*), to his histrionic profession. — **καὶ τούτων...αὐτὸς ὢν αἴτιος**, *when he is himself the author both of these calamities* (sc. of the Thebans) *and those of the Phocians*. — P. 16, l. 1. **δῆλον**. The natural prefix to a sentence of irony. — 3. **κτήματα**. Dissen cites the *de F. L.*, 386, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀπολωλότων συμμάχων χώρα κτήματα καὶ γεωργίαι παμπληθεῖς, Φιλοκράτει μὲν τάλαντον ἔχουσαι πρόσ-οδον, τοῦτ' δ', Αἰσχίνῃ, τριάκοντα μνᾶς. — ἔχων = *although you hold*. — 5. **ἐξητούμην**. *Was demanded as a victim*. Alexander had requested the surrender of ten Athenian orators (Arrian says, eight) immediately after the destruction of Thebes. Plutarch, *Vita Demosth.*, 23, *Vita Phocion.*, 17; Diodorus, 17, 15.

#### 42. I RETURN TO THE SUBJECT.

7. **Ἀλλὰ γάρ**. An elliptic construction = ἀλλὰ [μηκέτι ταῦτα εἶπω, ἐγὼ] γάρ. A similar insertion is always implied wherever we find the phrase. *However* gives an adequate translation. — **ἐμπέπτωκα**. 256. *eis τοιοῦτους λόγους ἐμπέπτειν ἀναγκάζομαι*. The use of the verb in this connection is rare. But we have also *ἐμπέπτειν εἰς λαιδορίαν*, p. 73, l. 17. — **αὐτίκα**. Hermogenes, citing this passage, adds μάλα ὕστερον and omits μάλλον. The word *αὐτίκα* not unfrequently implies a *future* immediate sequence, νῦν μὲν οὖν ὡς οἰόμεθα τὴν εὐδαίμονα πλάττομεν... αὐτίκα δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν σκεψόμεθα, *Plat., Rep.*, 420 C. — 9. **ἀποδείξεις**. *Demonstrative proofs*, opposed to εἰκότα and πιθανολογία, *Plat., Theatet.*, 163 A; *Aristot., Eth. N.*, I., 1 (3), παραπλήσιον γὰρ φαίνεται μαθηματικῷ τε πιθανολογοῦντος ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ ῥητορικὸν ἀποδείξεις ἀπαιτεῖν.

42-49. OBSERVE THE SEQUEL AFTER THE FALL OF THE PHOCIANS. THEBES AND THESSALY WERE DEVOTED TO PHILIP. THE REST OF GREECE SUSPECTED HIM, BUT KEPT THE PEACE. PHILIP'S MILITARY MOVEMENTS THEN WERE THE STEPPING-STONE TO HIS FINAL CONQUEST. I WARNED THE CITIES OF THIS, BUT IN VAIN. INDOLENT OR VENAL, THEY REFUSED TO RISE. THE RESULT HAS BEEN RUIN TO THEM, RUIN TO THE STATESMEN WHOM PHILIP CORRUPTED, AND

OF WHOM HE NOW HAS EXPRESSED HIS CONTEMPT, THE ENDS FOR WHICH HE HIRED THEM BEING OBTAINED. YOU, ÆSCHINES, ARE TRULY AN EXCEPTION; YOU REMAIN IN SECURITY AND PAY. AND WHY? BECAUSE THE END FOR WHICH PHILIP HIRED YOU WAS THWARTED THROUGHOUT BY MY OWN STEADFAST OPPOSITION.

42. 11. **ὑπό**. Of the agent, contrasting well with **διά** of his instruments. — 13. **οὐδὲν ἀληθές**. *φανακίσας ὑμᾶς*, 41; *λόγοι τότε ῥηθέντες*, κ. τ. λ., 35. — 43. 15. **κατάπτυστοι**. Dissem refers this to the general detestation felt by the Greeks for the Thessalians. They are spoken of as *ἄπιστοι*, *διπλοῖ*, and branded for *ἀταξία*, *ἀκολασία*. Cf. Athen., VI., p. 260; Plat., *Crit.*, 53 D. They wished for the total destruction of Phocis (Æschin., *F. L.*, pp. 46, 47). — 16. **Θηβαῖοι**. Their attachment to Philip is accounted for by the orator *de F. L.*, p. 385, *πρώτον μὲν τοίνυν εἰρήνην γέγονεν αὐτοῖς ποιοῦσι καὶ ταλαιπωρουμένοις ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ ἡττωμένοις*, εἴτα νῦν ἐχθρῶν Φωκῶν ἄρδην ὄλεθρος καὶ ὄλων τῶν τειχῶν καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀναίρεσις, κ. τ. λ. — 17. **πάντα**. *All in all*. Whiston cites Thucyd., VIII., 95: *Εὐβοία γὰρ αὐτοῖς πάντα ἦν*. — 18. **φωνήν**. 10, *μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀνάσχησθε*, note. — **ἤκουον**. Imperfect of desire = *would not*. The imperfect optative, *βούλοιστο*, which follows, is due to the historic consecution, and gives to *εἰ* the same distributive force which *ἐάν* possesses in a primary consecution. — 19. **ὑφορώμενοι**. Always metaphorical = *suspicientes*. *ὑποβλέπω* is sometimes literal. *Though viewing with suspicion what had been done, and feeling aggrieved at it*. WHISTON. — 21. **καί**, also. This sense is marked by the *δέ* which follows *ἄλλοι*. Cf. *καὶ παραλείπω δὲ πολλά*, c. *Mid.* — 24. **ἐκ πολλοῦ**. *For a long time past*: i. e. his movements had been virtually hostile to their safety in all his Illyrian campaign. *Ἐκ* indicates the date at which the danger first began, the period *since which* events are happening. — **πολεμούμενοι**. *Beset by war*. He means, of course, unconsciously to themselves. A strong antithesis to *ἔργον εἰρήνην*. To explain the paradox he gives the fuller details comprised in the next sentence. On the concessive construction of *καί* with a participle see *Madv.*, *Gk. S.*, 175, c = *even though*. — 44. 24. **ὅτε**. Of the period, 346 to 340 B. C., we have no records, as Grote remarks, to “form a consecutive history”; we can only gather an outline of facts from the speeches of the orator and Æschines. The term *περιών* is very appropriate to Philip’s incessant and rapid movements, and the wide area over which he directed operations. His invasion, here named, of the Illyrians appears to have been directly

after he had settled his position in Thessaly, and garrisoned the town of Phæræ: i. e. in the year 344 or 343. The invasion, here named, of the Triballi is nowhere else alluded to. It must have been prior to the declaration of war in the year 340, and therefore cannot be the campaign which is mentioned by Justin (IX., 2. 3), the date of which was 339. As to Philip's *gradually subjugating some of the Greeks themselves*, that remark has reference less to the force of his arms than to the intrigues of statesmen in his pay and interest. His actual military operations directed against any Grecian states at this particular crisis were (1) the support of Messene and Argos against Sparta, (2) the support of the oligarchic revolutionists at Elis and in Eubœa, and (3) the occupation of the Thracian Chersonese which menaced the Greek cities of the Bosphorus and Hellespont. This last prospect and his actual possession of Thrace and Thessaly would realize the *δυνάμεις πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας* here alluded to. — 26. *δυνάμεις*. *Copias. Resources*. The supplies of money and troops which the regions he thus annexed to his empire would contain and place at his disposal. — 27. *τῶν πόλεων*. Always of the independent Grecian states, when no specification is added beyond that of the article. — P. 17, l. 1. *ἐξουσία*. *The facility offered by the peace*, which enabled them to communicate *personally* with Philip, and accept his overtures of corruption. *ἐπὶ*, *in reliance upon*, *ἐκείσε*, to Philip. — 2. *τότε*. *Then*, i. e. throughout all that period and under all those circumstances. This is indicated by the imperfect tenses. — 4. *ἕτερος*. i. q. *ἀλλότριος*, *sup.* 34, note *ἕτερον*. — 45. 4. *Ἐγὼ μὲν... διεμαρτυρόμην*, *for I, for my part, was continually forewarning and protesting*. — 6. *ὅποι*, i. e. to Peloponnesus, Ambracia, Leucas, Coreyra, the Illyrians, Thessaly, Thrace, Byzantium, Thebes, *inf.*, p. 308, 244. — *ἐνόσουν*. *Were mad*. *κλύω σ' ἐγὼ μεμνῆς' οὐ μικρὰν νόσον*, *Æsch., P., v. 974*. Others translate *were morally diseased, demoralized*. *Θετταλοὶ νοσοῦσι καὶ στασιάξουσιν*, p. 22, l. 7. *προσάγεσθαι αἰεὶ τὸ νοσοῦν τῆς πόλεως*, *Æschin., p. 51 (fin.)*. — 7. *πολιτεύεσθαι*. *Engaged in politics and action*. *πράττειν* is limited in sense to those who are actually *serving*: *πολιτεύεσθαι* includes the idea of *deliberative statesmanship* also. — 9. *πολλῶν*. The article *τῶν* preceding *ιδιωτῶν* has to be repeated here. *Private* (i. e. *unofficial*) *persons and the commons in general*, *οὐ μόνον περὶ τῶν ιδιωτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν ῥητόρων*, *Æschin., p. 2, l. 2*. *ἄν τε δεινοὶ λάχωσιν ἄν τε ιδιωταί*, *Dem., p. 50, l. 6*. — 6. *τῶν μὲν... πρᾶττειν* = *the politicians and those engaged in public affairs on the one hand*. —



8. τῶν δὲ...πολλῶν = *the private citizens and the commons on the other.* — τὰ μὲν...τὰ δέ = *partly...partly.* C. 518, d; Cu. 369; G. 143; H. 525. — 10. δελεαζομένων. *Caught with the bait of present ease and comfort.* Reluctant to forego their luxurious state of nonchalance and exemption from trouble. The force of δελεαζομένοις is fully illustrated by Isocrates, p. 166 (*init.*), ὁμοία πάσχοντας τοῖς δελεαζομένοις τῶν ζώων, καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἀπολαύοντας ὧν ἂν λάβωσιν, ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κακοῖς ὄντας. — 11. πλὴν οὐκ. An obvious ellipsis of παντάχосε precedes. The construction of οὐκ is a pleonasm as in μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ, Thucyd., III., 36. If you say παντάχосε ἤξει πλὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτούς, you deny of ἐφ' ἑαυτούς, what you affirm of παντάχосε. Hence the redundant οὐ makes its entrance. See Buttm., *Mid.*, Exc. xi., παντάχосε πλέουσα πλὴν οὐκ εἰς Ἀθήνας, Dem., p. 1290, l. 4. Translate *anywhere but to*. It is strange that Dobree should have proposed the omission of πλὴν, which would certainly destroy the particular point of the sentence. — 14. ὅταν βούλωνται. *Arbitrio suo.* Cf. Aristot., *Rhet.*, I., 7, ὅταν γὰρ βούλωνται ὑπάρχει μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ βεβαίου [χρῆσις]. — 46. 15. ῥαθυμίας. *Indifference.* This word applies more expressly to the *feelings*, ῥαστώνῃ to the consequent and consistent *behavior*. — 16. προεστηκόσι. *Leaders*, including the idea of protectors and champions. — 18. πεπρακόσιν αἰσθέσθαι. In the simple sentence the words would have run ἦσθοντο ἑαυτοὺς πεπρακότες: this is varied by the sentence beginning with συμβέβηκε, and then the participle has inevitably to fall into concord with αὐτοῖς. αἰσθέσθαι is subject of συμβέβηκε. The influence of τοῖς extends to οἰομένοις: *and to the leading men and those who supposed they were selling everything but themselves, to discover (see and feel) that they had sold themselves first.* — ξένων. *Pledged friends*, i. e. pledged to reciprocal hospitalities. German *Gastfreund*: & is neuter to agree with ὀνόματα implied in ὀνομάζοντο. — 20. ἀκούουσιν. *Audiant.* They hear the appellation in connection with themselves, i. e. bear the name of. The usage is too common both in Gk. and Lat. to need illustration here. It has only to be observed that ἀκούειν in this construction has the same case before it as after it. C. 575; Cu. 392; H. 540. — 47. 23. ὧν. By attraction for τούτων &: not a partitive genitive. — 25. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν. An ellipsis of ἄλλως. The construction is very common, Aristot., *Rhet.*, I., 3 contains a good instance, ὅτι δ' ἀδικεῖ οὐδέποτε ἂν ὁμολογήσειεν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἔδει δίκης. Translate here: *For else nothing would have been a more blessed creature than a traitor.* The neuter marks contempt. Madv.,



*Gk. °S.*, I., b. 3. — 26. **πόθεν**; The favorite ironical question: stronger in the orator's lips than the strongest negative. *Impossible! Ridiculous!* — 27. **ἐγκρατής**. *Has planted himself in full possession of his object*, καταστῆ suggests the security of his position, ἐγκρατής the completeness of his conquest. For πεπρακέναι, *sup.* 46, he now substitutes its synonyme, ἀποδόσθαι. — P. 18, l. 1. **καί** = *also*: *he is master also of those who gave them over* (sold them) to him. This clause is the apodosis, as is shown by the mood of the verbs καταστῆ and ἐστί. The editor of the English edition made the apodosis begin with τὴν δέ. But δέ is connective = *and*. Whiston makes the same mistake. — 2. **τότε δή**. *From that instant*. On the emphasis conveyed by δή, *vid. sup.* note **δήπου**, 21. The ethics, politics, and rhetoric of these sections are alike remarkable, and have been often remarked by commentators. — 48. 5. **καιρὸς ἀεί**. ἀεί γὰρ ἡβᾷ τοῖς γέρονσιν εὖ μαθεῖν, *Æsch., Ag.*, 590. Though the time of action be gone by irretrievably, the lesson can be pointed at any time with advantage. — 6. **Λασθένης** betrayed Olynthus to Philip, and was afterwards put to death by him *de F. L.*, p. 426, 451; *De Cherson.*, p. 99. So the editor of the English edition. But it seems to be a mistaken inference from the language of Demosthenes. An anecdote related by Plutarch shows that Lasthenes was resident at the court of Philip at a subsequent time. Timolaus occurs again below, p. 324, in the list of traitors. Simus and Eudicus were of the great Aleuad family in Thessaly. For the persons and places here named, see Smith's Dictionaries. — 8. **ἀπώλεσε**. Chæronea was the date of Theban ruin. Thessalian subjection dated from the occupation of Pheræ in 344, 343. The repetition of **μέχρι τούτου** is emphatic and highly artistic. The rhetoric is as perfect as the political lesson is sound. — **εἴτα**. *So then*, inferential; or, *since then*, temporal. The former seems the more vigorous translation, but the latter is more probable. *Since then the whole land is become full of traitors driven from city to city and insulted*, — *nay, what misery is there which they do not suffer?* WHISTON. **τί κακὸν οὐχί**; by a simple periphrasis for *ἅπαντα κακά*. Cf. *Æsch., Ag.*, 543, **τί δ' οὐ στένοντες, οὐ λαχόντες, ἡματος μέρος**; — 11. **ἡ οἰκουμένη**. According to Reiske, *terra a Græcis habitata*. He cites also p. 85, l. 17. But it may be doubted whether Demosthenes intended so extreme a limitation: certainly Herodotus does so in IV., 110, but that one instance is hardly conclusive. *οἰκουμένη* is doubtless used in a popular and rhetorical sense. — 12. **τί δ'**; An ellipsis of *πέπον-*

θεν derived from πασχόντων.—'Απίστρατος. Of this τύραννος, and the history of Sicily at the period, no record is preserved except the present and that on p. 324.—13. Περίλαος attempted to betray Megara to Philip, at some period between the years 344 and 342. The attempt was frustrated by Phocion (Plutarch, *Vita Phoc.*, c. 16).—14. ἀπερριμμένοι. *Outcasts.* ἀπωστὸς γῆς ἀπορριφθήσομαι, Soph., *Aj.*, 1019.—49. 18. περιποιεῖ. *Secures you an affluence of material for bribery:* i. e. preserves an independent constitution, by offering to betray which you may earn your pay from Macedon.—ἐφ' ὅτῳ δωροδοκήσετε=*for which you shall receive bribes.*—τουτωνί. *My audience,* i. e. the commons of the city, to whom he is actually addressing his present speech in the ἐκκλησία: hence the pronoun. The conservative party would naturally include the two elements he mentions, τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους, the leading politicians who advocated resistance to Philip, τοὺς πολλοὺς, who supported that course by their votes and numerical influence.—21. ἀπολώλπειτε. On the force of the pluperfect with ἄν *sup.* note ἄν διημαρτήκει, 30.

50-52. BUT I PAUSE AND CRAVE PARDON FOR MY TEDIOUS. MY OPPONENT'S LANGUAGE, AND THE YOUTH OF SOME OF MY HEARERS, MADE MY PROLIXITY INDISPENSABLE. HE SAYS I TAUNTED HIM WITH "BEING ALEXANDER'S FRIEND." I SUPPOSE HE MEANS "BEING ALEXANDER'S HIRELING."

50. 24. ἐωλοκρασίαν. *The stale mess*, as Whiston aptly translates it. See his note on the passage. ἡ κατάχυσις τῶν ζωμῶν τῶν ἐώλων δείπνων ἐπὶ τοὺς κοιμωμένους τῶν συμπιόντων, Bekk., *Anecd.*, p. 258. πολλὴν τὴν ἐωλοκρασίαν κατασκεδάσας τῶν φιλοσόφων, Lucian., *Symp.*, c. 3. In Plutarch we find ἐωλοκρασία τις ὕβρεως. The application is obvious here. Æschines has raked up his own stale and offensive pieces of treachery and tries to transfer them to my head.—26. νεωτέρους. Too young to recollect the end and sequel of the Sacred War. The minimum age for a Dikast was thirty. Those of his audience who did not now exceed that age would have been no more than fourteen at the time referred to.—27. παρηνόχλησθε. *Somewhat annoyed*, i. e. by the tedium of my repetitions (4, ἐνοχλεῖ), when you knew the facts without my telling you. The force of ἐνοχλεῖν is modified by the παρα-.—P. 19, l. 1. καὶ ὑμεῖς. *Even you*, the younger, for whose exclusive benefit I was speaking, but to whom perhaps my opponent's venality is just as notorious as it is to your seniors. Whiston says, *you too* (as well as myself)?—51. 2. καίτοι. *And yet*, notorious as

it is, he tries to disguise it under specious names, and therefore I am bound to reiterate my warnings. — 3. **ξενίαν**. *Plighted friendship, ξένων*, 46, ὁ τὴν ξενίαν ἐμοὶ προφέρων τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, *Æschin.*, p. 63. — πού λέγων = *somewhere in his speech*. — 8. **θεριστάς**. *Reapers*, as the type of hired laborers in general, ἰδόντες ὅτι θερίζειν ὥρα, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄγοντες τοὺς θεριστάς. *Aristot., Hist. Anim.*, VI., 30. The word is rare in the classical authors. — 52. 14. **μισθωτός**. The orator designedly mispronounced this word, says *Ulpian*, that the audience, vociferously correcting his bad accent, might seem to give the answer he wanted to his question. This is obviously nonsense. Either the passage was only written and never spoken, so that the interrogation is a mere rhetorical artifice (see *Long, Ciceron., Verr.*, II., 4, 3); or else, and far more probably, the orator would take care to be surrounded by a faithful knot of his own supporters who would duly shout “μισθωτός” when appealed to. “We may be sure he knew his audience well.” *WHISTON*.

53. I WILL NOW REPLY TO THE INDICTMENT ITSELF AND JUSTIFY THE BILL OF THE COUNCIL.

19. **προβεβουλευμένων**, sc. γεγραμμένων ἐν τῷ προβουλεύματι. So προεβούλευσεν ἡ βουλὴ ἐξιέναι, p. 567, l. 3. — 21. **μοι**. *Dativus ethicus*; the common formula of courtesy: *please*.

54. **ΓΡΑΦΗ**. Clearly spurious. *Chærondas* was Archon in 337 (vid. *Clinton*), the very year when *Demosthenes* was appointed Commissioner for the Walls. But the orator only received this appointment on *Skirophorion* the 3d (middle of May). *Æschin.*, p. 57, l. 35. According to the present document *Æschines* indicted him *two months before*, viz., on *Elaphebolion* the 6th (middle of March) in the same year. ἰσταμένον, see *Lexicon*, and *Calendar* in *Dict. of Antiq.* — ἀπήνεγκε. *Brought a charge*. A most improbable wording of the charge as *Dindorf* rightly argues. But see *Schömann* (p. 607). Α γραφή παρανόμων in any case appertained to the jurisdiction of the *Thesmothetes*, not of the Archon Eponymus. — Ἀναφλυστίου. *Anaphlystus* was a deme of the tribe *Antiochis*. It was situated on the west coast of *Attica*, a little to the north of *Sunium*. It is mentioned by *Herodotus*, IV., 99. — στεφάνω. Crowns, as a mark of honor, were originally limited to athletic contests. It was only in the period of Grecian decadence that grants of this description came into frequent usage. We see from this speech, and that of *Æschines*, that they were presented for even the most trivial public service,

such as expedition in equipping a trireme, or effective management of any small department. — P. 20. **Διονυσίοις.** *At the Dionysiac festivals*, a time when Athens would be crowded with company. — **καινοῖς.** In theory, the tragedies performed at the great Dionysia were supposed to be new for the occasion. Practically, however, it seems to have been sufficient that the dresses, decorations, etc., should be new. The plays of Sophocles were often represented more than once. *De F. L.*, p. 418; *Aul. Gell., Noct. Att.*, VII., 5. We have the phrase *τραγωδῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καινῶν* (*Æschin.*, p. 58) and below 55, *τραγωδῶν τῇ καινῇ*. — **ἀρετῆς.** *Merit* in general, of which *εὐνοίας* and *ἀνδραγαθίας* are mentioned as the particular details. — 55. **ψευδῇ.** This states correctly the *first* count of the indictment, viz., that Ctesiphon had proposed to include in the public archives a document false in substance. — **ὑπεύθυνον.** *Waiting for an audit.* This is the *second* count in the charge; viz., that Demosthenes, on that occasion, was ineligible for receiving a crown, as being a member of two Commissions, neither of which had as yet been audited. All public officers, except the *Dikasts*, were bound to render an account of their office within 30 days of its termination, the *λογισταί*, and their assessors the *εὐθνοί*, being the court which held them responsible. *στεφανοῦν* depends on *έώντων*. — **τειχοποιός.** See *Æschin.*, pp. 35–57. This office was the most important branch of the whole department *ἐπίσταται δημοσίων έργων*. It was probably annual in tenure. — **θεωρικῶ.** A special fund reserved for the expenses of public solemnities and entertainments, the money was derived in part as a *λειτουργία* from private citizens, but mainly from the public treasury. Athens was notorious for its sumptuous expenditure on such events as the festivals, sacrifices, embassies to great gymnastic contests, theatricals, etc., etc. From the *Theorica*, *διανομαί* (largesses) were also occasionally made to the people. The surplus of the fund was originally ordered to be given to other state expenses. But according to the law of Eubulus (*Demosth.*, pp. 1346–1348) this became illegal. That law was not repealed until 339 B. C. — **μὴ ἀναγορεύειν.** The construction is here changed as if *κελεύοντων* had preceded. WHISTON. — **καινῇ, sc. εἰσόδω, sup. καινοῖς.** — **ἐκκλησίᾳ.** The crown was to be conferred at an actual sitting of the public assembly to increase the formal solemnity of the compliment. — **τίμημα.** *Damages.* An indictment for *παράνομα* was one of the *ἀγῶνες τιμητοί*, *sup. 14, ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις.* — **κλητῆρες.** When a summons was being served (*κλήσις*), witnesses of the citation

were required by the law to be present. The prosecutor usually took two (p. 1251, l. 5), and their names were naturally appended at the foot of the bill of indictment. — **Ῥαμνούσιος**. Rhamnus was on the east coast of Attica, six or seven miles to the north of Marathon. Pliny mentions it (IV., 7) as still existing in his time. It was famous for its statue of Nemesis. *Rhamnusia Dea*, Catull., LXVI., 71; Ovid., *Met.*, III., 406, *Trist.*, V., 8, 9.

56-59. SUCH ARE THE POINTS OF THE INDICTMENT. I WILL TAKE THEM IN THE SAME ORDER AS HE DOES. HIS FIRST AND PRINCIPAL OBJECT OF ATTACK IS MY OWN POLITICAL CAREER. ALLOW ME, THEREFORE, TO DWELL UPON THE HISTORY OF THAT PARTICULAR PERIOD. HEREAFTER I SHALL FULLY JUSTIFY CTESIPHON RESPECTING THE OFFENCES SPECIALLY CHARGED.

56. P. 20, l. 2. **αὐτῶν**. *These very points* which he attacks in Ctesiphon's decree. The juxtaposition of *δικαίως* and *ἀπολογήσομαι* has suggested a misconception of *δικαίως* in 6. There, however, *δικαίως* refers to the conduct of the court and not of the orator. — 5. **τάξιν**. Instead of following the order of the prosecutor in his *speech* as he (Æschines) demanded (contra Ctes., 206), the orator, with good reason, follows the order of the *charges* in the indictment. This is not, therefore, as alleged in the note of Holmes, inconsistent with the remonstrance in the first section, but rather in strict accordance with it. — 57. 7. **πράττοντα**. From this word to *ἀγαθόν* an actual citation of the Psephisma is implied. The *τοῦ* before *γράψαι* substantives *ἐπαινέιν* likewise. Both genitives depend on *κρίσιν*. — 10. **κρίσιν**. *On the written statement that I [act as a patriot], and the praise bestowed for such conduct, your judgment, I think, must be formed from my political proceedings.* A similar use of *ἐν* has been already noticed, 19, *ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτανον*. — 13. **εἴτε καί**. This *καί* between *εἴτε* and the second alternative has a special force noticed by Dissen. It always implies that the speaker himself decidedly prefers the first alternative. So p. 193, *εἴτ' ὀρθῶς ἐγὼ λογίζομαι εἴτε καὶ μὴ*: Plato., *Theæt.*, 65, *καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἐπισκέπει εἴτε ταῦτόν εἴτε καὶ ἄλλο ἐπιστήμη καὶ αἰσθησις*. So immediately below in 58. — 58. 14. **στεφανοῦν**, as Kennedy rightly says, depends on *κελεῖσθαι* in the next sentence. We may render the passage: *his directing that they should crown me and proclaim the crown in the theatre, without having written the extra (pros-) clause, "as soon as ever he has passed his audit."* ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ γέγραφε τὸν ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῦν μὴ προσθεὶς 'ἐπειδὴν ὧν λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας.' Æschin., p. 58. — P. 21,

1. 1. **κοινωνεῖν**. *Has to do with*. The **μέν** which follows is answered by the **μέντοι** immediately after **ἔτι**. — 4. **ἐν τούτοις**, *amongst the citizens*. — **εἴτε καὶ μή**, *or it may be not*, implying that he was worthy of it. WHISTON. — 5. **δεικτέον εἶναι**. *Madv. Gk. S.*, 84, b. ; C. 682 ; Cu. 596 ; G. 281 ; H. 804. — 7. **ἀπλῶς**. The antithesis of **τεχνικῶς** on p. 222, second hypothesis. *Without artifice*. — 59. 9. **ἀπαρτάν**. *Divorce my speech from the indictment*, i. e. wander into other topics. The verb is rarely used, and certainly its first meaning is to *suspend from*, but also from its etymology it would bear the translation [*bind and*] *drag away*. οὐδὲ διδόντων τῶν καιρῶν Ἀμφίπολιν δέξασθαι δύναισθ' ἂν, ἀπηρτημένοι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς γνώμαῖς. *Phil.*, I., p. 43. "Being fettered and kept away both by the state of your armament, etc." Lord Brougham, as cited by Whiston, here happily remarks: "The extreme importance to Demosthenes's case of the skilful movement, so to speak, by which he availed himself of Æschines's error and at once entered on the subject of his whole administration, — thus escaping the immediate charge to which he had no answer, and overwhelming his adversary by a triumphant defence on ground of his own choosing, — requires that he should again and again defend this movement, which he here does very carefully." — 12. **γεγραμμένος**. Perfect middle of **γράφεσθαι**. The prosecutor *causes* the defendant's name and offences *to be inscribed* on the charge sheet. Hence the voice, in this usage. *For he who prosecutes in the psephisma the statement that I speak and act for your best interests, and who has impeached this as not true, he it is that has made*, etc. **ψηφίσματος** is limiting genitive with **τὸ λέγειν...με**. — 15. **εἴτα καί**. *In the next place when there were many lines of public life open to my choice*. WHISTON. — 16. **Ἑλληνικάς**. So on p. 263, l. 3, he distinguished between **τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πολιτεύματα** and **τὰ Ἑλληνικά**, Home policy and Foreign.

60–65. I BEGIN THE HISTORY FROM THE DATE OF MY OWN CAREER. GREECE WAS THEN TEEMING WITH TRAITORS WHO PLAYED INTO PHILIP'S HANDS. FOR THE POLICY PURSUED BY ATHENS I AM RESPONSIBLE. I NOW ASK THE QUESTION, WHICH PARTY WAS IT RIGHT FOR OUR STATE TO JOIN, THE CAUSE OF PHILIP OR THE CAUSE OF GREEK INDEPENDENCE? AND LOOKING AT THE FATAL SEQUEL, WHO CAN DOUBT THAT ATHENS CHOSE CORRECTLY?

60. 19. **πρὸ τοῦ**. *Sup.* 18, and note **τότε**, *ib.* — 20. **προὔλαβε**. He alludes to the capture of Amphipolis in the year 358, of Pydna in



357, and Potidæa in 356. — 21. **ἀ διεκωλύθη**. Philip had several successes, not enumerated here, in the period immediately following the orator's entry on public life, e. g. the conquests in Thrace, 27; but the only object in dwelling on this stage of history is to mention all of Philip's *checks and failures*, so far as they could be attributed to the orator's line of policy. — 22. **ἐπέστην**. *Took my place in this sphere*, literally = stepped into this post of duty and continued to stand there. On this pregnant force of **ἐπί**, see Madvig, *Gk. S.*, 79 a. — 23. **ὑφίξω**. *Render, in submission to an inquiry*. Stronger than **διδόναι**, 8. — **ὑπειπών**. *Having first premised thus much*. **ὑπο**- here of the foundation and substratum for his subsequent argument. **τοσοῦτον** with a force of limitation. — 25. **ὑπῆρξε**. *Possessed to begin with*, the same sense of **ὑπο**-. — 61. 26. **φοράν**. *A harvest, or crop*, analogous to our use of *yield*. Diodorus copies the expression (XVI., 4), **φορά τις προδοτῶν ὑπῆρξε**. So also, **φορά ῥητόρων πονηρῶν**, Æschin., p. 87. Cf. 271, and note there. — 27. **θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν**. *God-detested*. The phrase is used almost as if it were a single word (*sup.*, p. 241, l. 12, and p. 611, l. 15), otherwise the abrupt introduction of the dative would be rather inelegant. — P. 22, l. 3. **καὶ πρότερον** = *even before*. — 4. **ἔτι χειρόν διεθῆκε**, *he brought into a still worse state of mind (disposition)*. — 6. **διέστησεν**. *Split them up into many factions, the interest of all being one and the same*. **δυστάναί**, *sup.*, 18, **διεστῆκει**. The participial clause is best preserved in its original form for translation, being anti-thetic but not strongly concessive. — 7. **κωλύειν**. In the position of a genitive case, in apposition to **τοῦ συμφέροντος**, and explanatory of it. — 62. 9. **συνισταμένου**. *Gathering*. The passive voice. **συνστάντος**, 18. **ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτανον**, 19. — 11. **προσῆκον**. *Proper*. This auxiliary use of **ἦν** constitutes the strongest form of the imperfect tense, Madvig, 180 d. — **πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν**, *to achieve and effect*. So **πράξει καὶ ποιήσει**, p. 327, l. 28. The distinction of the meanings is scarcely perceptible, but **ποιεῖν** has a sense of *creation*, which **πράττειν** does not share, **πράττειν** a sense of *achievement*, which is not common to **ποιεῖν**. Whiston renders, *what course of conduct and action*. — 13. **πολιτείας**. Partitive, depending on **ἐνταῦθα**. The present tense and the emphasis on **ἐγώ** must be carefully preserved in translating. *The man who set himself in that department of the administration am I*. — 63. 15. **ἀφείσαν**. *To have sunk her spirit and dignity, and in the position of Thessalians and Dolopians, to have aided Philip in acquiring the supremacy of the Greeks*. **τάξει** *sup.*, 13, note s. v. The strong feeling



against the Thessalians we have seen already in 43. Disson remarks that both they and the Dolopians had fought with the Persians against the Greeks. Herod., VII., 132, 185. The Dolopians, a remnant of the Pelasgic stock, were in scattered localities between Epirus and the foot of Pindus. — 20. *καλύσει*. The strict construction would require the optative, but the future indicative is more vivid, and grammar is sacrificed accordingly. — 21. *περιδεῖν*. *To allow without interference, to overlook*. This verb admits various constructions, being followed either by a participle, or by an infinitive, or by an adjective with ellipsis of the participle, or by an accusative of the person with ellipsis of the infinitive. — 64. 21. *ἀλλά*. *Nay but*. There is no transition implied. He only repeats in stronger terms the contents of the previous sentence. — 22. *ἔγωγε*. *I for my part should like to ask the severest critic of what has been done, which sort of party he would best have liked to have our city belong to*. — 24. *συναιτίας*. *Conjointly to blame for, not accomplice*, which would be *μεταίτιος*. Cf. Æsch., *Eumen.*, 199. — 25. *ῆς ἄν*. This *ἄν*, and the one which follows immediately, give no sense of distribution to the relative, but qualify the optatives only. *Sup.*, 16. *ῆς* is genitive of property, with *γενέσθαι* understood. — 27. *περιορακῦας*. The perfect of *ὁράω* and its compounds has no double augment in pure Attic, although the imperfect has. Many editions here erroneously substitute *ω* for the *ο*. Cf. *Lexicon*. — P. 23, l. 1. *πλεονεξίας*. This taunt is unjust. Arcadia and Messenia sought for protection against the tyrannical power of Lacedæmon, and Philip alone could give them the assistance they required. Their conduct was in no way venal, as the word *πλεονεξία* would imply. — 65. 3. *ἀπηλλάχασιν*. *Have come off*. In this intransitive force *ἀπαλλάσσειν* always requires to be supported by an adverb. — 7. *ῆν ἄν* is preceded by *ὅμως*, in most editions, and *οὐκ* is inserted before *ἐναντιωθέντων*. The latter alteration is very suggestive of a copyist's taste and discretion. And the manuscript evidence is wholly against the *οὐκ*. The sense of the text as above is excellent. He says, if Philip had done no harm, but only good, there would have rested [in spite of much which had justified the opposition—still] a certain amount of blame upon those who had opposed his policy. The insertion of *ὅμως* will not affect the general sense, but that of *οὐκ* would destroy it. Reiske earnestly defends the *οὐκ*, but no other editor has done so. — 9. *ἀξίωμα*. *Dignity or authority* as distinct from actual *power*. *Philip.*, 3, p. 28; Æschin., *F. L.*, 42. — *ἡγεμονίαν*.

*Leading position* in reference to smaller states, who looked up to them as their actual superiors and chiefs. The Thessalians had several such dependents forming a Hegemony. Müller, *Dor.*, II., p. 65. — ἐλευθερίαν. *Pugna ad Chæroneam interit, ut constat, Græciæ libertas.* (DISSEN.) — 10. πολιτείας. *Constitutions*, i. e. democratic constitutions, τύραννοι being appointed by Philip to supersede the existing πολιτείας, in the various cities where the step was possible. ὅσων is genitive after περιελέσθαι understood.

66-78. TO RESUME: WHAT WAS THE CITY TO DO WHEN IT SAW THE ENCROACHMENTS OF PHILIP? WHAT WAS I, YOUR POLITICAL ADVISER, TO DO, WHEN I FELT SO DEEPLY FOR THE HONOR OF ATHENS, AND SAW SO CLEARLY THE CHARACTER OF HER AGGRESSOR? I PASS OVER HIS REMOTER ENCROACHMENTS; BUT WHEN HE CAME SO NEAR TO OURSELVES AND BROKE ALL FAITH AND TREATIES, WERE WE THEN TO DO NOTHING? IT WAS HE, NOT WE, WHO BROKE THE PEACE. I PRODUCE OUR DECREES AND HIS LETTER TO PROVE IT. AND AS TO MY SHARE IN THE PROCEEDINGS, I WAS NOT THE PROPOSER OF EITHER OF THESE DECREES; NOR CAN YOU, ÆSCHINES, BRING FORWARD A SINGLE DECREE SUBVERSIVE OF THE PEACE WHICH HAS MY NAME TO INDORSE IT.

66. 14. ἀρχὴν καὶ τυραννίδα. *A dominion and sovereignty.* The words, as used here, are nearly synonymous both with each other and also with δυναστεία, *empire*, in 67. Strictly ἀρχή is of any official ruler (or body of rulers) as the *head* of affairs; the term applies to any form of government, including even a republic: τυραννίς applies to the rule of a single despot only; but δυναστεία might also describe a combination of oligarchs. Cf. τὴν δυναστείαν ἣν τινες τῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ἑαυτοῖς κατασκευάζουσιν., p. 1467, l. 16. — 16. σύμβουλον. *Your adviser*: the technical description of an orator when acting as a politician. τὸν περὶ τῶν πρωτείων σύμβουλον, *inf.*, p. 297 (*fin.*). So Aristotle (*Rhet.*, I., 1) divides oratory into the three heads, συμβουλευτικόν (deliberative), δικανικόν (forensic), and ἐπιδεικτικόν (declamatory). — 17. ἐμέ. *Myself I mean*: emphatic and in apposition to σύμβουλον. The difference which he attributes to his own political measures as compared with those of his contemporaries, he rests on these two personal grounds: (1) that he had realized better than others the nature of Athenian ambition; (2) that he had also realized better the career and the aims of Philip. — 18. συνήδην μὲν is antithetic and preliminary to ἑώρων δέ, *while on the one hand I knew...*

on the other *I* saw. Both verbs are followed by the accusative with the participle. — 19. **ἀνέβην.** *Ascended the Bema:* ascended it, he means, for the first time; here the phrase, of course, is merely the technical description of taking a part in public business. We have the more vigorous expression ἀναπηδᾶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα in p. 78, l. 29. — 20. **πρωτεῖων.** *Primacy.* So in the singular; τὴν τοῦ πρωτείου προαίρεσιν τῇ πόλει διαφυλάττειν, p. 331, l. 24. τὸ πρωτεῖον εἶχε, p. 151, l. 8. — 21. **χρήματα κ. τ. λ.** *Money and men,* so *sup.*, p. 231 (*fin.*). Leland's rendering, *blood and treasure*, is decidedly beyond the mark. — 67. 25. **ὀφθαλμόν.** The date of this is probably 354 B. C. "His ita gestis Philippus iam non contentus submovere bella, ultro etiam quietos lacessit. Quum Methonam urbem oppugnaret, in prætereuntem de muris sagitta iacta dextrum oculum regis effodit." Justin, VII., 6. 13. Methone on the Thermaic gulf is there alluded to, not the Thracian Methone. But see Grote, who dates the event at a somewhat later period than Justin. Cf. also Diodor., XVI., 31 and 34; Polyæn., IV., 15. — 26. **ἐκκεκομμένον.** Constructed frequently thus, with an accusative of respect. Cf. εἴθ' ἐξεκόπην πρότερον τὸν ὀφθαλμόν λιθῶ, Aristoph., *Nub.*, 24. ἐκκοπεῖς ὁ δειλαῖος ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, Æsch., p. 24, l. 31. The verb in the active voice is connected with ὀφθαλμόν, in a well-known passage, p. 744, l. 20, ἐάν τις ἓνα ἔχοντος ὀφθαλμόν ἐκκόψῃ ἄμφω ἀντεκκόψαι παρέχειν. — **κλείν.** The Scholiast says this happened in the expedition of Philip against the Illyrians, 344 B. C. Plutarch alludes to the wound (*Mor.* 177 F). The form κλείν for the more normal κλείδα is a subject of copious comments in the Lexica. Cf. *Etym. M.*, p. 318, l. 25; Schol. Hom. *Il.*, E., 146. [Dissen and Schäfer.] — **τὴν χεῖρα, τὸ σκέλος.** This, according to the Scholiast, was on his return from the Scythians and Triballi, in 340 B. C. So also Justin, IX., 3 (but speaking only of a wound in the thigh): "In femore vulneratus est Philippus." Plutarch alludes to Philip's lameness. *Quest. Sympos.*, IX., 4. 1. — 27. **μέρος.** *Sacrificing any and every part that Fortune might like to filch from his body, so that he might live with the relics thereof surrounded by honor and glory.* As to the antecedent μέρος being drawn into the relative clause, the construction is very common: πᾶν ὃ, τι πάσχω τις πάθος ἄνοιαν ἰσχει νόσον προσρητέον. Plat., *Tim.*, 86. See Madvig, *G. S.*, 101 a. b, etc.; C. 553; G. 154; H. 809. The emphasis of πᾶν is thus increased, as Whiston rightly notices, citing Dissen. The verb παραιεῖσθαι is rather of robbery than mere deprivation. Cf.

πόλεις παρήρηται οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσας, p. 289, l. 5. P. 24, l. 2. τῷ λοιπῷ = all that was left; as in 69, λοιπόν = the only thing remaining. — 68. 4. ἀδόξω. Pella was insignificant in the eyes of Greece until it was invested with Philip's renown. Cf. in the *De Halonneso*, p. 78, τὸν ἐκ Πέλλης ὀρμύμενον. — 5. τοσαύτην...ἐγγενέσθαι, that it became the man who was brought up in Pella to have reached such an elevation of mind, literally, that such an elevation of mind should have been generated in him. — 9. θεωρήμασι includes everything under the observation of the eye or mind, — not to be limited to the theatrical dramas (as Kennedy), nor to spectacles (as Drake). Whiston's paraphrase is far better: *everything that meets your ears and eyes*; but even that is inadequate. We may render perhaps *in every expression and every contemplation*. — 11. αὐτεπαγγέλτους. Somewhat redundant in connection with ἐθελοντάς. We can combine the two by paraphrase; *of your own free-will and accord*. Better with Whiston, *by your own offer, and of your own free-will*. αὕτη (δύναμις) πάρεστιν αὐτεπαγγελτος ἄνευ κινδύνων καὶ δαπάνης διδοῦσα ἑαυτήν. Thucyd., I., 33. For ἐθελοντάς cf. Lys., p. 181, l. 36, and p. 182, l. 9. — παραχωρήσαι. Concedere. Cf. οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ γ' ἐμοὶ παρεχώρεις ἐλπίδων καὶ ζήλοῦ καὶ τιμῶν, p. 317, l. 9. παραχωρῶ σοὶ τοῦ βήματος. Æsch., p. 77. — 69. 16. ἔγραφον, was the mover of your resolutions, and the adviser of your counsels. WHISTON. — καὶ ἐγώ. I myself. Another example of the intensive καί. Sup., 3 πολλὰ μὲν. — 18. πάντα. Dismissing all the rest, dismissing all of Philip's remoter conquests from our present consideration. Amphipolis, Pydna, and Potidæa ("always enumerated in this order." GROTE) were captured by Philip in three successive years, commencing with 358; the island of Halonnesus probably in the year 345. The inhabitants of the adjoining island, Peparethus, attacked Halonnesus in 342 B. C., and ejected the Macedonian garrison. Philip then attacked and devastated Peparethus. See Winiewski, *Comment.*, p. 128, etc.; and Vömel's dissertation on the *De Halonneso*. — 70. 20. Σέρρειον. Cf. sup., 27. — Δόρισκον. Also in Thrace, captured by Philip with other Thracian towns in 345. — 22. οἷδ'...οἶδα. I do not so much as know whether they occurred or not. In the same sense as πάντα τᾶλλα ἀφείλς. On εἰ as the usual particle to introduce a simple dependent question, see Madvig, *G. S.*, 199, b. 2. — 23. ἐχθραν, i. e. enmity with Philip. — 24. Εὐβούλου of Anaphlystus. Sup., 21 (*fin.*). Ruhnken, *Or. Gr.*, p. 65 sq.; Böckh (*Econ. Ath.*), p. 242. According to others his deme was Pro-

balisia, but this correction is not adequately supported. He was the constant advocate of peace-policy, and so far acted in concert with Phocion. A stronger connection afterwards subsisted between Eubulus and Æschines as leaders of the Macedonian party. — **Ἀριστοφῶντος** of Azenia probably, Æsch., p. 81, l. 39. Demosthenes calls him *δεινὸς λέγειν*, *adv. Leptin.*, p. 501. There were two other persons of the same name who belonged to this period: Aristophon of Colyttus, *c. Mid.*, p. 584, and Aristophon the Archon Eponymus of the year 330, when this oration was delivered. See Clinton (*Fast. Hell.*, II., p. 147), and Böhmke (*Quæst.*, I., 659). Eubulus and Aristophon were both dead at this time. **WHISTON.** — **Διοπείθους.** The commander of the Athenian forces in Thrace, 343 B. C. While Philip was engaged against the Thracians in the north, Diopieithes attacked the sea-coast of Thrace, and captured two of the cities. Philip, unable to crush him by force of arms, tried, but without success, to induce the Athenians to recall him. See the speech *De Chersoneso*. — 25. **ἐμῶν**, i. e. the decrees were *their* proposal, not *mine*. — **ὄντων** = *although they were*. — 71. 26. **οὐδέ** = *not even*. — 27. **Εὐβοίαν.** Philip's intrigues in Eubœa commenced probably about 349 B. C., when he promoted the hostilities between the Eubœans and the Athenians, but the peace of 346 then suspended his operations. He resumed them in 343 towards the close of the year as we gather from *c. Philipp.*, 2, compared with the *de F. L.* Cf. *De Chers.*, p. 98, l. 23 sq. — P. 25, l. 1. **σφετεριζόμενος.** *Annexing*; more exactly, *appropriating*. — **ἐπιτείχισμα.** *A base of hostile operations*, p. 133, l. 22. *τυραννίδα ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπετείχισεν ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ.* We have the form *ἐπιτειχισμός*, 87. Thuc., I., 142, etc. — 2. **Μεγάροις.** Philip attacked the city (probably in 343 B. C.) at the invitation of Pterilaus, Ptoodorus, and Helixus, pp. 368, 435. Phocion, however, rescued Megara then, and it did not fall into Philip's hands until after Chæronea. Hence the word, *ἐπιχειρῶν*. — 3. **᾽Ωρεόν.** Oreus, Eretria, and Porthmus were the three cities of Eubœa which afforded the most convenient bases of hostility against the Athenians. Philistides was the leader of the Macedonian party at Oreus, Cleitarchus at Eretria. The date of Philip's success was probably 342 B. C. Cf. pp. 98, 99, 104, and again 112, 115, 125. — 5. **Ἑλλήσποντον.** Philip's fleet had possession of the Hellespont in the year 342-1. He commenced the siege of Perinthus in 340, but, after three months' unsuccessful blockade, he withdrew a part of his forces to make an

attack on Byzantium. The combined fleet under Phocion succeeded in protecting the city. Plutarch., *Demosth.*, 17, *Phocion*, 14. — 7. **ἀς μὲν...ἀς δέ.** For τὰς μὲν, and τὰς δέ, the regular inflections of the old demonstrative τός, as we find ὅς in Homer, and καὶ ὅς in prose. WHISTON. — 8. **κατάγων.** *Bringing home.* ἐλθεῖν μὲν εἰς γῆν ἔσθ' ὅτῳ μετ' ἡ πάτρας. | φεύγων δ' ἀνὴρ ἥκει τε καὶ κατέρχεται. Aristoph., *Ran.*, 1163, 5. — **ἡδίκη.** The imperfects here describe the acts of Philip as a continuous and protracted course of outrage. — 11. **ἡ μή,** *sc. φανῆναι.* The orator might have written ἡ οὐ (*sc. ἐχρῆν*); but the construction he has chosen is the more vigorous of the two. The difference may be stated thus in paraphrase: ἡ μή=ought he to have abstained from coming forward? and ἡ οὐ=was it not his duty to come forward? cf. C. 686, c. g.; Cu. 615, 617; G. 283, 3, Note; H. 836, 837. — 72. 12. **Μυσῶν λείαν.** The notorious proverb describing *a helpless victim.* The state of Mysia, as exposed to pirates and brigands in the absence of its monarch Telephus, is said by the Scholiast to have given rise to the phrase. Harpoer., s. v. *Μυσῶν.* The proverb is quoted by Aristotle, *Rhet.*, I., 12. Telephus belongs to the mythical period of the Trojan war. Paus., X., 28, etc. Euripides made him the hero of a tragedy as we see from the amusing passage, Arist., *Ach.*, 430, etc. — **καλουμένην**=*so called*, or, *as the phrase is.* οἶσαν is complementary to ὀφθῆναι and denotes state emphatically =*to be seen in the state of the Mysian booty, as the phrase is.* — 13. **ζώντων καὶ ὄντων.** The same combination, p. 935, l. 16 (quoted by Reiske): Τιμοδῆμῳ καὶ νῦν ἐτι ζῶντι καὶ ὄντι. A very weak conjecture has been made of ὀρώντων in lieu of ὄντων. — **περιέργασμαι.** P. 154, l. 20, σοὶ δὲ κίνδυνος εἰ μὴδὲν τῶν ἄλλων πλέον περιεργάσει, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον σοὶ μὲν ἐξ ὧν ἐργάζει καὶ περιεργάζει... The sense of περιεργάζεσθαι is to exceed the proper limits of operation, hence *to over-do it, to over-meddle.* Kennedy uses the latter word in translating the passage cited. Whiston renders, *superfluous has been my labor in speaking on these subjects.* A good example of περιεργάζεσθαι will be found in Herodotus's well-known story about the Samian exiles, III., 46; also in the charge against Socrates, Plat. *Apol.*, 19, c. — 20. **προλέγων.** So again *inf.*, p. 306, l. 1, and Antipho., p. 126, l. 17, προλεπόντων (*cautioning*) αὐτῷ τῶν ἄλλων ἱατρῶν. — 21. **προτεσθαι.** *Sup.*, 67. — 73. 22. **καὶ μὴν.** And, as to the peace, I protest (μὴν) it was he who broke it (when he seized those ships), it was not the city. See 139. "At the same time" (340 B. C.) "it appears that he now let loose his cruisers against the



Athenian merchantmen, many of whom he captured and appropriated. These captures, together with the incursions on the Chersonese, served as last additional provocations, working up the minds of the Athenians to a positive declaration of war." GROTE.—25. τίς. *Who is to blame for what.* Here and elsewhere τίς, as an interrogative, approximates somewhat to the relative *ὅστις*. Strictly, however, there is always a difference, which we have to ignore in translating, as it can only be conveyed by paraphrase; e. g. here *φανερὸν* = *We shall see the answer to the question, Who, etc.?* Again, p. 962, l. 20, οὐ γὰρ ὁρῶ καιρὸν ἐν τίνι μᾶλλον ἢν τις βοηθήσειεν αὐτῷ. "The opportunity which answers the question 'In what crisis, etc.?' " Pind., *Nem.*, VII., 56, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν | τίνι τοῦτο Μοῖρα τέλος ἔμπεδον | ὥρεξε. "I cannot solve the question 'To whom, etc.?' " Many other instances might be cited.—P. 26. ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Another spurious document, defended however by Vömel, and in part by Böhnecke. There is no historical mention elsewhere of the capture of these ships by Amyntas and their subsequent restitution. Other indications of spuriousness will be noticed in their place.—Νεοκλέους. No Archon Eponymus at this period is recorded as bearing the name. Theophrastus was the Eponymus of 340 B. C.—μηνός. The mention of the day of the month is omitted.—συγκλήτου. This required to be summoned by the Prytanes as well as by the Strategi.—Κόπρειος. Of the deme Coprus, which was in the tribe Hippothoontis. But it is clearly the famous Eubulus of whom he is speaking, and we know his deme to have been Anaphlystus. *Sup.*, 70. The only various readings are Κύπριος and Κυθήριος.—ναύαρχον. Whiston appears to think that a genuine document would have had στρατηγόν here. The word ναύαρχος, however, is used by Thucyd., VIII., 16, 20, and by Xen., *Hellen.*, V., 1. 5.—καταγήοχεν. Cf. 39, εἰσαγοχότας. *κατάγειν τὰ πλοῖα* (of piracy). *Lys.*, p. 150, l. 11.—74. μεψιμοιρεῖ, as Whiston rightly says, is a word belonging only to the Greek of a later period. *Luci.*, *Lip. Trag.*, c. 40; *Polyb.*, IV., 60. 9. In any case it would be most unlikely to be used in a formal and solemn document. Before ὅτι οὐ μ. we have to supply φήσουσιν from διαλέξονται. The construction is awkward and unusual.—πλημμελοῦντα. Another awkward ellipsis. We supply with Wolf, [τὸν ναύαρχον Λεωδάμαντα] λαβόν.—ὀλιγωρίας. Here *neglect of duty*. The classical use is simply *neglect and contempt* in general.—ἀξίαν. So *ζημίαν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐλληψε*, p. 155, l. 13.—ἰδίᾳ. *Wilfully*, Kennedy interprets. Others



*solely*. A more exact translation would be *on their own account*, i. e. without provocation or justification. — **ἀγνωνοῦσιν**, *are committing trespass* (Kennedy). This is quite classical. Xen., *Hell.*, I., 7. 33. — **ἐποστείλας**. *Either the man who gave or the man who has received the commission*, i. e. either Philip or Amyntas. — **λέγειν** depends on *εἶπεν* at the beginning of the psephisma = *that they* (the ambassadors) *state this also*. A few *codices* prefix *γράφαι*, others substitute it for *λέγειν*. — 75. 2. **Ἡγήσιππος**, p. 129, l. 18, Æschin., c, *Ctes.*, 118. A strong partisan of the Anti-Macedonian side at Athens. Envoy to Philip 344 B. C. See pp. 81, 84, 85, *F. L.*, 364. Supposed author of the *De Halomese*. — **Ἀριστοφῶν**, 70. — 3. **Φιλοκράτης**, 17. — **Κηφισοφῶν**. *Sup.*, 21, in connection with Eubulus. One of the envoys to Philip on the peace question, and the friend of Æschines. — 4. **πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι**. He ceases to enumerate the individual names and comprehends the rest of the proposers in one formula; clearly he refers to a large number of psephisms which he is turning over as he speaks. — **ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ**. Also spurious. As being merely *βουλῆς γνώμη* (*by vote of the Boule*) it should have been entitled *προβούλευμα*. But this misnomer is only consistent with its other deficiencies. — **Νεοκλέους**. *Sup.*, 73. — **ἀνενεγκόντες**, *having reported*. A rare Attic use of the word at this period. Thucyd. (V., 28) has *ἀνήνεγκαν τοὺς λόγους ἐς τε τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὸν δῆμον*. The word *χρηματίζειν* is technically accurate for *transacting business* (*in the ecclesia*). *Πρὶν ἐκείνην (βουλὴν) χρηματίσαι καὶ προβουλεύσαι*. 169 (*fin.*). Here it means, *introduced* for the consideration of the boule. — **ἀνακομιδῆς** = *restoration*. — **ἄφεσις**, *release*, is used to express the same thing in the preceding psephisma and the following letter of Philip. — P. 27. **Ἀριστοφῶν Κολλυτεύς** see 70. The name is also spelt *Κολυττεύς*. The deme referred to was in the tribe Ægeis; whereas the tribe Hippothoontis is cited as *πρυτανεύουσα*. But still a member of the tribe Ægeis might have been a *πρόεδρος* at this time. He might, that is, have been one of the nine *πρόεδροι* from the nine *φυλαί* who were out of *πρυτανεία*. So Böhrnecke argues. It is singular that even Kennedy should accept this and the preceding document as genuine. For *πρυτανεία* and *πρόεδρος* see *Lexicon* and *Dict. of Antiq.* — 76. 4. **ἂν ἔχους**. This, as referring distinctly to the future, contrasts well with the conditional sentence of past time which immediately follows: *εἰ γὰρ...παρέσχου*, *if you had been able all the while* (imperfect)...*you would now have brought it forward* (aorist). *Sup.*, 9. — 77. **ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ**. This document is clearly spurious, though ac-

cepted by Kennedy, and defended, as usual, by Vömel and Böhnecke. The siege of Selymbria by Philip, which is here alluded to, is nowhere else so much as mentioned in any historical record. Yet the sieges of Byzantium and Perinthus, which belong to the same period, are constantly referred to by Demosthenes, Philochorus, Diodorus, and Justin. See Grote. — **χαίρειν** depends on *γράφει* or some similar word, which is omitted here as in classical and sacred epistles generally. — **πρεσβευταί**. The form *πρέσβεις* is, no doubt, more usual to express *envoys* in the plural, as Newman observes. Whiston, however, cites Deinarchus *c. Demosth.*, 22 : *τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ὡς τοῦτον ἐλθόντων*. A more interesting passage is in [Andocidis] *c. Alcibiad.*, p. 28 (*fin.*) : *πρεσβευτὰς οὖν πάντας ὑμῶς ἡμεῖς οἱ πρέσβεις ποιοῦμεν· ὁ γὰρ τὴν χεῖρα μέλλων αἰρεῖν οὗτος ὁ πρεσβεύων ἐστίν, ὅπότ' ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ποιεῖν*. We may infer from this that *πρέσβεις* was the technical name for envoys, but *πρεσβευταί* the more forcible expression implying plenipotentiaries. — **Λεωδάμας**. A correction suggested by Reiske and adopted by Dindorf, as consistent with 73. The *codices* have *Λαομέδων*. — **καθ' ὅλου**, *absolutely*. On *εὐηθεία* cf. 11. — **Δῆμνον**. Lemnos still belonged to Athens, according to the peace of Antalcidas, as did also Imbros and Seyros. *Æschin.*, p. 37; *Xen., Hist. Gr.*, V., 1. 31. — **βοηθήσονται δέ**. Supply *ὡς ἀληθῶς*, in contrast to *πρόφασιν μὲν* which precedes. — **78. συνετάχθη**. The verb *συντάσσειν* is usually of military operations *to arrange, drill, or discipline*, — its extension here to mean *these orders were given*, is post-classical, although Hesychius, cited by Schäfer, gives *Συντάξει = παραγγελεῖ*. — **ιδιωτῶν μὲν**. The letter, if genuine, might have been expected to exclude Demosthenes (76) in some specific manner; but this description *out of office* would apply at that time to him as much as to any one. — **φιλοτιμουμένων**. *Ambitious*, somewhat ironically put. Cf. *φιλοτιμίας*, 66. — **συντετελέσθαι**. *Perfectum significanter positum de re quam isti quam primum ratam videre velint* (DISSEN). Rather of the *full and complete* accomplishment of that purpose which they desire. And so in the very instance Dissen quotes, p. 91 : *περὶ τούτων δ' οἶμαι τὴν ταχίστην συμφέρειν καὶ βεβουλευσθαι καὶ παρσκευάσθαι*. — **πρόσοδον**, *a source of revenue*. *τὰς συμμάχων συμφορὰς προσόδους τοῖς πρέσβεσι*. *F. L.*, 159.

79–84. PHILIP HIMSELF HAS MADE NO MENTION OF MY NAME. INDEED, HAD HE DONE SO, HE WOULD ONLY HAVE REVEALED HIS OWN DISGRACEFUL CONDUCT AND MY PATRIOTIC RESISTANCE.

I THWARTED HIM BY PROPOSING THE EMBASSIES TO EUBŒA AND TO THE PELOPONNESUS, BY PROPOSING THE MILITARY MOVEMENTS WHICH SAVED THE CHERSONESUS AS WELL AS EUBŒA. THIS BROUGHT YOU THE GREATEST GLORY AND STRENGTHENED YOUR POSITION WITH YOUR ALLIES. BUT A FORTUNE IN MONEY MIGHT HAVE BEEN MADE BY A MAN WHO WOULD HAVE PLAYED INTO PHILIP'S HAND ABOUT EUBŒA, AS ÆSCHINES SAYS THAT I DID: ÆSCHINES, WHO ENTERTAINED IN HIS HOUSE THE ENVOYS OF THESE EUBŒAN TYRANTS! I WHO RECEIVED A CROWN OF HONOR, UNQUESTIONED BY ÆSCHINES, FOR OVERTHROWING THEIR POLICY!

79. P. 28, l. 1. οὐδαμοῦ. The spurious document mentions, it is true, no special names whatever except those of the ambassadors; yet nothing can be more pointed than *ιδιωτῶν* as referring to Demosthenes. Had this been the genuine document the orator would never have brought it forward. Again it nowhere specifies τοῖς ἄλλοις whom Philip is described as ἐγκαλῶν here. — 5. εἰχόμεν. *I clave*: that is, with the tenacity of a determined foe = *laid hold of, grappled with*, as rendered by Whiston. The emphatic position of the words and the force of the imperfect tense should be noted, *for with these I was continually grappling and these I was constantly opposing*. — 7. πρεσβείαν. Dated about 344. c. *Philipp.* 3, p. 109. Demosthenes himself was one of the legates as well as the proposer of the psephism. — 8. παρεδύετο, *was trying to steal into*. He did not actually invade the Peloponnese till after Charonea. ἡ γοῦν παρανομία αὐτῇ ῥαδίως λανθάνει παραδυομένη. Plato, *Rep.*, 424 D. — τὴν ἐς Εὐβοίαν. B. C. 342. — 10. οὐκέτι. The psephism on this occasion was to authorize the despatch of a military force to Eubœa, a step beyond the mere commissioning of envoys. The date was 341–340. Phocion commanded, and his efforts were successful. Diod., XVI. 74. — Ἐρέτριαν. This is the same expedition which first liberated Oreus and then Eretria. Cf. Æschin. c. *Ctes.*, pp. 67, 68, for the other side of the question. — 11. τυράννους. 71. — 80. 12. ἀποστόλους, *naval expeditions*. Dissen considers that the revision of the trierarchic laws (105 sq.) is partly alluded to here, as well as the actual despatch of the fleet. — ἀπέστειλα. Of course, as Schäfer remarks, ἔγραψα ἀποστεῖλαι is what the orator means, p. 262, l. 15: τῶν ἀποστόλων γιγνομένων κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐμὸν. — 13. Χερρόνησος. 73, note καὶ μὴν. — 14. πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι. He alludes to Proconnesus and Tenedos and the like, p. 326.

—17. **ὑμῖν** depends on **πεισθεῖσιν**: *those who took your advice*, as opposed to *those who neglected it*. **τῶν ἀδικουμένων** is genitive of the whole after the partitives **τοῖς μὲν...τοῖς δέ**: **περιεγένετο** is to be repeated with **τὸ...μεμνησθαι καὶ νομίζειν**. — 81. 24. **ὑπάρχειν**, *to have these substantial materials for your injury*, **ὑπάρξει** 1 note. — 25. **ἐξελέγχεσθαι**. The verb **ἐξελέγχειν** means *to investigate and expose*; **ἐξετάζειν** (*ἰηφ.*) *to question merely*. — P. 29, l. 1. **πανταχοῦ**, *anywhere*: cf. the use of **πάντων**, 5, note. — 82. 5. **κατέλυον**. This very technical use of **καταλύειν** is easily traced: the verb signifies 1. *to unloose* (sc. the sandals), 2. *to rest*, 3. *to lodge*. **παρ' ἐμοὶ γὰρ Γοργίας καταλύει** Plat., *Gorg.*, 447 B. The expression is common in Plato, but rare in the orators, who employ the word more commonly of dissolution, destruction, or termination. — 6. **προὔξεναι**, *were their public host*. The office of **πρόξενος** was analogous to that of our own consul, and the consul is called **πρόξενος** in modern Greek. For full particulars see Dict. Ant. HOSPITIUM. — **αὐτῶν**. The genitive follows **προξενεῖν** always in its literal sense: it is a possessive genitive (= **εἶναι πρόξενον αὐτῶν**) the visitor having a claim on the plighted friend of his native city: p. 194, l. 18; p. 1237, l. 17. In the secondary sense, *to address, to recommend*, **προξενεῖν** is followed by the dative: p. 969, l. 18; p. 1250, l. 20. — 8. **ἦσαν**. We have to supply **οἱ** for the subject out of **οὓς** before **ἡ πόλις**. — **οὐ τοίνυν ἐπράχθη**, *accordingly none of these things was effected*, which Philip and his partisans designed. WHISTON. — 9. **σιωπῶ μὲν**. *That I hold my tongue when I have got a fee, and raise my voice when I have spent it*. Æschin., p. 85, l. 8: **σὺ δ' οἶμαι λαβὼν μὲν σεσίγηκας, ἀναλώσας δὲ κέκραγας**, i. e. you accept a bribe to induce you to be silent, but when the money is gone you break your silence and your word together. — 12. **ἀτιμώσαντες**, *by disfranchising you*. See Böckh (*Econ. Ath.*, I. 409). If Æschines failed to obtain the fifth part of the votes he would be liable to disfranchisement. This was called **ἐπωβελίαν ὀφλεῖν**. (Cf. p. 834, l. 25; p. 1251, l. 2, etc. The object of such penalties was to prevent prosecutions on insufficient grounds. — **οὔτοι**, sc. the judges. — 83. 13. **τούτοις**, i. e. my successful resistance on this occasion to Cleitarchus and Philistides. — **συλλαβάς**, *the same identical words*: literally, *syllables*. **δύο συλλαβάς προσθεῖς**, p. 270, l. 22. **πάντα τὸν νόμον μέχρι τῆς ὑστάτης συλλαβῆς**, p. 734, l. 23. This Aristonicus is incidentally mentioned with honor by Demosthenes (below, 312) as having contributed for the salvation of the state after the disastrous battle at Charonea a sum of money which had been collected by his

friends as the means of recovering the *ἐπιτιμία* which he had lost. — 16. *ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ*. These words are very important, I think, for the true interpretation of *δευτέρου κηρύγματος* which follows. We know from Æschines (c. *Ctes.*, p. 58) the exact terms of the law which directed these proclamations. If the crown was conferred by the *βουλή*, the locus of proclamation was to be the *βουλευτήριον*; if by the *δῆμος*, the locus of proclamation was to be the Pnyx at the time of an *ἐκκλησία*; these, according to the cited law, were the only two places in which the said proclamations could legally be made: *μηδαμοῦ ἄλλοθι l. c.* Æschines is careful to insist upon this, as, of course, one point in his accusation depended entirely upon it. He then anticipates his opponent's reply, saying that Demosthenes will quote another law, *τὸν Διονυσιακὸν νόμον*, which permitted an exception to the law already cited. According to this Dionysiac law, it was quite legitimate for such proclamations to be made, not merely in the two places specified, but also *in the theatre* itself, if only a special vote should have first been passed by the *δῆμος* to sanction the exceptional proceeding: *νόμον δεδοκῶτα ἐξουσίαν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ στεφάνου τραγωδοῖς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἂν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος*. This exception, according to Æschines, only applied to a crown conferred by a foreign city on an Athenian. But the orator contradicts him in 120. Of course as a locus of proclamation the theatre had the advantage of considerably greater publicity, being open to all at Athens, citizens and strangers alike, whereas the *βουλευτήριον* and the *ἐκκλησία* would only admit the presence each of their respective members. The addition therefore of *ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ* enhanced the notoriety of such a donation; it also enhanced the compliment, as it implied that the services of the *στεφανούμενος* were cosmopolitan instead of merely Athenian. We can well understand that whereas the grants of crowns were common enough at this time at Athens, it was not quite so common to receive the grant of a crown which would be proclaimed *in the theatre*. It would only be done in the event of special and peculiar circumstances, deserving special and peculiar honor. Demosthenes says, below, 120, *μυρίους μυριάκις κεκηρῦχθαι*, but this is an obvious hyperbole: he only means that the exception to the law had very constantly been taken advantage of (but in each case, no doubt, on some plea of exceptional reasons). Had it been the normal practice thus to proclaim the crowns, that particular point of the indictment, which Æschines urges so strongly, would have been a simple absurdity. — 16. *δευτέρου*.

*And whereas the present is now the second proclamation* IN THE THEATRE *which is coming off in my honor.* We may paraphrase thus: Whereas this proposal of Ctesiphon's that my crown should be proclaimed (*in the theatre*) is not the *first* honor (of the *same exceptional kind*) which I have already received, but the *second*. With κηρύγματος we supply ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, carrying on the idea of the words from where they occur immediately before. As to τούτου, the pronoun itself can hardly refer to any proclamation but that proposed by Ctesiphon; any other would probably be ἐκείνου. But the tense of γιγνομένου is what most forcibly points to the same conclusion; it is an instance of the present with the force of a future, when the speaker feels certain that the future event is to come off almost directly. The orator speaks in fact with the confidence of a winning cause: he is so assured of Ctesiphon's acquittal that he looks on his own crown and its proclamation as things that are actually in the present. (On this use of the tense see Madvig, 110, a. 3.) Had he referred to his previous crowning which was proposed by Aristonicus, he would infallibly have written γενομένου here. The interpretation may rest entirely on this change of tense as contrasted with the aorists γράψαντος and ἀναρρηθέντος. As regards the number of occasions on which it was proposed to crown the orator, we have his own assertion τὸ πολλάκις αὐτὸς ἐστεφανῶσθαι πρότερον, 120. Historically we can trace but four occasions: (1) on his own proposal, in 346, when he returned from the first embassy to Philip; (2) on the proposal of Aristonicus, in 340; (3) on the proposal of Demomeles and Hyperides, in 338, *vid.* 223; (4) on this proposal of Ctesiphon. I believe occasion (2) was the first when the crowning was to be proclaimed *in the theatre*; and occasion (4) was the second (δευτέρου τούτου) *of the same exceptional kind*. We arrive at this result by a simple process of exhaustion: τούτου cannot refer to (1) or (3), because the present context mentions neither of them: and it cannot refer to (2) because of the tense of γιγνομένου as has been explained above. Reiske and Schäfer, though referring τούτου to Ctesiphon's proposal, do not, I think, appreciate the point of ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ: at least they pass it in silence. Böhnecke refers τούτου to the proposal of Aristonicus. And Whiston apparently inclines to that view himself. Indeed, Reiske is partly converted by Böhnecke's showing the probable fact that Aristonicus' στέφανος would be the *second* in order of time. But this is at most a mere coincidence. See 120. — 84. ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. This document has more claims to be



regarded as genuine than any which have preceded. Its contents are fairly in harmony with what is on record elsewhere. But the inscription and the date are full of perplexity. The Eubœan affairs to which reference is made occurred in the last six months of B. C. 340. This compliment to Demosthenes would naturally have been paid at the beginning of 339, when, as he says below, the matters were still *νέα καὶ γνώριμα* (85). Of that year Nicomachus was the *Archon Eponymus*. Chæronidas only came into office in 338. The addition of the name *Ἡγήμονος* is also perplexing. Its natural meaning would be *the son of Hegemon*. But no psephism of the time of Demosthenes ever recorded the name of the Archon's father. Now there was a man of some mark who bore the name Hegemon, belonging to this period (c. *Aristog.*, p. 784; *Plut., Phoc.*, 33), and who would doubtless have been very eligible for the office of Archon Eponymus, though we do not know that he ever held it. Possibly, therefore, some copyist, detecting the inconsistency of *Χαιρώνδου*, wrote *Ἡγήμονος* above it, as a conjectural emendation, and subsequently both the names may have been embodied in the text. This, I presume, must have been Dobree's reason for wishing to expunge *Χαιρώνδου* here, and retain *Ἡγήμονος* alone. — *Φρεάρριος*. The deme Phrearri is mentioned by Harpocration as belonging to the tribe Leontis, and designated after the hero Phrearrus. — *πολλὰς...παρέσχηται*. A common formula, as Böekh has shown (*Corp. Inscript.*), occurring in documents of this nature. *Χρείας* = *services*, is rare in the orators: their usual sense of *χρεία* is *need*. But cf. Antipho (p. 121, l. 11): *τῆς χρείας τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποστερηθῶ*. — P. 30. *καινοῖς*, 54, note. — *ἀναγορεύσεως*. Post-classical. *Plut., Marc.*, 4. The Greek of the period would be *ἀναρρήσεως*. — *ἀγωνοθέτην*. General name for the *umpire* or *steward* at any of the public contests, athletic, dramatic, or otherwise: used metaphorically by Æschines, p. 79, l. 29: *ἀγωνοθέτης πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς*.

85, 86. DID THIS DECREE, AS ÆSCHINES SUGGESTS, MAKE YOU RIDICULOUS IN THE EYES OF GREECE? THE MERIT OF AN ACTION IS JUDGED AT THE MOMENT. DO NOT ALL THE HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES BELONGING TO THAT SPECIAL EPOCH ATTEST THE VALUE OF MY SERVICES?

85. 2. *χλευασμόν*. *Scoff*: in p. 705, l. 2, we have the cognate form *χλευασία*. — 4. *νέα καὶ γνώριμα*, *fresh and notorious*, cf. note on *ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ*, 84, as to the date. — 6. *ὡς ἑτέρως*. 212, *quite otherwise*, by euphemism for *κακῶς*, which the preceding *καλῶς* would suggest as



its obvious antithesis. τὰ ἕτερα ψηφίσωνται οἱ δικάσται, p. 1175, l. 19. — ὥς = quite. See lex. See also 34, ἕτερον. — 86. 11. τῷ νικᾶν. Dative of the instrument: *by the fact of my carrying my measures*. The fuller phrase is νικᾶν ψήφισμα. Æschin., p. 63, l. 21. νικᾶν τῇ ψήφῳ, *Id.*, p. 39, l. 36; νικᾶν γνώμας, Aristoph., *Nub.*, 432. — 12. λέγων καὶ γράφων limits νικᾶν = *in my speeches and motions*. — τῷ καταπραχθῆναι and τῷ...πεποιῆσθαι are in the same construction as τῷ νικᾶν, and Bremi calls attention to the life and vigor which is imparted to these clauses by the omission of the connectives. — 14. προσόδους, i. e. to the temples = *solemn processions*. — 15. πεποιῆσθαι, perf. middle = *caused to be made*.

87-92. FAILING IN EUBŒA, PHILIP ATTEMPTED TO CUT OFF OUR SUPPLY OF CORN, AND WITH THIS VIEW, TO SEIZE BYZANTIUM. WHO RESCUED BYZANTIUM? YOU, THE STATE. WHO ADVISED YOU? I. THAT POLICY SECURED YOUR PROSPERITY FOR THE TIME, AND GAINED YOU THE VOTE OF THANKS FROM BYZANTIUM AND THE CHERSONESUS.

87. 17. τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις, κ. τ. λ., *in arms indeed by you, but in statesmanship and resolutions by me*. Here the dative expresses the instrument, while the agent is expressed by ὑπό with the genitive. — 18. διαπραγῶσι, *burst*, i. e. by straining their lungs to contradict me. *Syr.* 21. Rumpe miser tensum iecur, *Juv., Sat., VII.*, 117. — 20. σίτω...ἐπεισάκτω. Böckh calculates the amount of corn imported to Athens at about a million μέδιμνοι; the main supply being from the neighborhood of the Pontus. πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐμπορίων ἀφικνούμενον ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου εἰσπλέων ἐστίν, p. 466, l. 24. — P. 31, l. 1. ἡξιού. The verb ἀξιόω, from its first sense *to think right*, comes to signify *demand* or *claim*, often with a notion of doing so arrogantly or authoritatively, as here. Cf. p. 553, l. 19; p. 570 (*fin.*). — 2. οὐδ' ἐπὶ, *and said that they had not made the alliance on these terms, which assertion was true*. Their refusal was mainly owing to the eloquence of Demosthenes as the envoy of Athens at this time (340 B. C.). Cf. 230, 244. The orator appears to have foreseen the designs of Philip on Byzantium some months prior to this, pp. 93-106, and p. 115. — 4. χάρακα. Technically, *vine-prop* or *stake*: here, by synecdoche, for χαράκωμα: *stockade, intrenchment*. Bekker reads the latter; but Σ has χάρακα, and there is a gloss of Harpocration's χάρακα = χαράκωμα. On p. 71, l. 20, we have χαρακώματα καὶ τείχη καὶ τάφροι. On p. 568, l. 16, χάρακας is simply *timber*. — 5. μηχανήματα, *having planted artillery*: the expression indicates the severity and formality of the siege. Τοὺς τὰ

μηχανήματα ἐφίσταντας, p. 115, l. 7. Grote quotes from Athenæus, ἐπίδο-  
 σιν δὲ ἔλαβεν ἡ τοιαύτη μηχανοποιΐα ἅπασα...κατὰ τὴν Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύν-  
 του βασιλείαν ὅτε ἐπολιόρκει Βυζαντίους Φίλιππος (fragm.), as showing  
 that the siege of Byzantium formed an epoch in the history of besieging  
 enginery. — 88. 6. οὐκέτ', i. e. he had repeatedly asked the question be-  
 fore: 72, 66, etc. — τὸ ὑμῖν. See C. 522, d; Cu. 379; G. 141, N. 6. — 12.  
 ἀπλῶς, in a word. This adverb qualifies the whole sentence between  
 itself and διδοῦς, not to be taken in connection with ἀφειδῶς, unspar-  
 ingly, which merely qualifies διδοῦς. The force of the imperfect par-  
 ticiples should be noted and expressed: *who was it that was all the while*  
*speaking and writing (making motions) and acting, and in a word giving*  
*himself unsparingly to the public welfare.* — 89. 15. ἐνστάς, which was  
 then upon us. The aorist participle has the force of a full perfect par-  
 ticiples: here we must regard it as a pluperfect, the consecution being  
 historic; lit. = *which had then established itself among us as a fait ac-*  
*compli.* War was actually declared in the midsummer of 340, when  
 the Athenians passed a formal decree to remove the column on which  
 the peace of 346 stood recorded. Diodor., XVI., 77. See Grote. —  
 16. ἀνευ. Besides, *præterquam quod.* Non excludit sed una quoque  
 complectitur (Reiske). — 17. διήγεν, kept you in greater abundance and  
 cheapness of every necessary of life. δραχμῇ καὶ χοῖ καὶ τέτταρσιν ἐβολοῖς,  
 ὥσπερ ἀσθενοῦντα τὸν δῆμον διάγουσιν, p. 1459 (fin.). — 18. τῆς νῦν.  
 Sarcastic: *the peace of these days:* that conceded by Alexander. With  
 τηροῦσιν sq. cf. 323. — 19. μελλούσαις, with their prospective hopes; no  
 doubt sarcastically quoting some favorite phrase of the other party. —  
 20. ὧν, κ. τ. λ., which hopes may they fail to realize and may they share  
 those blessings which you with the noblest of aims implore the gods to be-  
 stow; never may they [the traitors] impart to you what they have deliberately  
 chosen for themselves, i. e. may the traitors be disappointed in what they  
 expect to get from Macedon! may they share, however, the common  
 blessings of their native land! but may they never induce you to  
 share in their corrupt proceedings, or to partake the rewards which  
 such baseness aspires to win! The various reading, μή before μετά-  
 σχοιεν and μηδέ (for μή) before μεταδοιεν, alters the blessing of the  
 former clause into a curse. The reading of Σ (which I have retained)  
 gives the more generous tone to the sentence, but it may be doubted  
 whether the other is not more vigorous and Demosthenic. There is  
 nothing harsh in the asyndeton of μή—προήρηνται, as regards the pre-  
 ceding clause. The entreaty and the deprecation stand side by side,

in effective contrast, and the contrast is emphasized by the omission of the connecting particle. — 23. **Βυζαντίων**. Subjective genitive. In 92 he prefixes the *παρά*. — 90. **ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ**. This document is suspected of being spurious, partly on account of the mixture of the dialects, partly because it mentions Byzantium and Perinthus as though they formed one united state, which we know historically was not the case. Dindorf is inclined to accept it as genuine; and so are Vömel and Böhnecke, as usual. But Droysen and Ahrens profess to detect “certissima fraudis argumenta.” — **ιερομνάμονος**. The name of the chief Byzantine magistracy, not to be confounded with the Attic use of this name for “envoys to the Amphictyonic council,” 148, etc. Whiston suggests that he was a religious officer, perhaps the high-priest of Poseidon, and adds, that this practice of naming the year from a religious officer prevailed in other Dorian states. Kennedy translates *ἐπὶ ιερομνάμονος*, in the *presbytership of*. — **Βοσπορίχῳ**. *Dorice* for *Βοσπορίχου*. Ahrens denies that the Byzantine dialect admitted the severer Doric changes, (1) *ω* for *ου* and (2) *η* for *ει*: it was more akin, he says, to the Lesbian and Ionic. In the present document we have eleven more examples of (1) (*βωλά*, *Φιλίππῳ*, *τῷ*, *τὼς νόμῳς*, *τὼς τάφῳς*, *τῷ δάμῳ*, *τὼς στεφάνῳς*), and one example of (2) (*ἤμειν* for *εἶναι*). The form *ἀμέ* is Lesbian, and *ἐπιστέωνται* pure Ionic. — **ἄλλα**. The Doric equivalent for *ἐκκλησίᾱ*. — **βωλᾶς**. More properly *γερονσίας*. But see Müller, *Dor.*, II., p. 91. — **ράτρᾶν**. The Doric equivalent for *προβούλευμα*. Müller, *ib.*, p. 170. Schäfer, however, takes it = *ἐξουσίαν τοῦ λέγειν*. — P. 32. **διατελεί**. The present tense is much affected in documents of this nature. (*Sup.*, 84, *διατελεῖ εὐρους ἔν*.) The consecution here is all primary. — **συγγένεσι**. Plutarch (*Quest. Gr.*, c. 57) says that Perinthus was colonized by the Megarians and Samians. **DISSEN**. Byzantium also was founded by a colony from Megara with a mixture of Argives. — **δενδροκοπέοντος**. This *cutting down of trees* is always noticed as a prominent feature of Greek invasions and raids. Aristoph., *Pax*, 627, 9, *Ach.*, 232, etc. *κατεῖν καὶ κόπτειν* is the favorite combination in Xenophon. — **ἀμέ**. *ἄμμε* is the Doric equivalent for *ἡμᾶς*. — 91. **Βυζαντίων καὶ**. The article *τῶ* should have been repeated before *Περινθίων* to indicate that they were separate states. — **ἐπιγαμίαν**. *Right of intermarriage*, entitling the alien to share the national privileges of the native married. — **ἐγκτασιν γᾶς**. *Right of holding house and land by purchase*. Strictly forbidden to an alien at this period in all the Grecian states.

—**ποτί.** Dorice for *πρός*, as *πόθοδον* for *πρόσοδον*. — **μετὰ τὰ ἱερά**, i. e. immediately on the proceedings being formally opened. They began always with sacrificial solemnities. — **ἀλειτουργήτοις.** *Excused from all public services.* On the *λειτουργίαι* of other states as well as the Athenian, see Böckh's *Econ. Ath.*, Vol. I., Amer. ed., pp. 584, 689. See also Dic. of Antiq. — **εἰκόνας.** The nature of the group of statues to be erected is clear from the context. A figure representing Athens would be sculptured as receiving a crown from two other figures representing Byzantium and Perinthus respectively. Dissen quotes very aptly a similar case from Polybius (V., 88, 8), where Rhodes was sculptured in the Rhodian exchange as receiving a crown from Syracuse. Whiston quotes Pliny (*H. N.*, XXXV., 36, 5), who speaks of Parrhasius' statue representing the *Δῆμος* of Athens. — **92. ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.** This document is probably spurious. Droysen, p. 812. — **Χερρονησιτῶν.** The Thracian Chersonese is referred to, in which these four towns had been razed to the ground by Philip 341–340 B. C. — **ἀπὸ τάλάντων ἑξήκοντα.** “*ἀπό hoc est ex, ut Herod., VII., 65.*” **DISSEN.** So again 102. The general solution of this passage is to suppose the talent here spoken of to have been the small golden talent, equal to six Attic drachmæ (weight) of gold, i. e. sixty of silver. Böckh (*Econ. Ath.*, I., 39). But the question of the value of a talent in the Chersonese and other remote states is in great obscurity. Smith, *Diet. Antiq.*, *Talentum*. — **χάριτος βωμόν.** *Altar of thanksgiving.* So *βωμοὶ δίκης καὶ εὐνομίας*, p. 780, l. 22. — **παραίτιος γέγονε.** *Has helped...to obtain* (Kennedy). The phrase is of no uncommon occurrence in similar votes of thanks. — **τῆς Φιλίππου.** We may supply at discretion *ἀρχῆς*, *δυνάμεως*, *χειρός*, or the like. Dissen prefers the last, citing *Æschin.*, c. *Ctes.*, p. 90, *ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἐξελέσθαι τῶν Φιλίππου*. But the plural in such a case is more natural than the singular. — **τὰ ἱερά**, i. e. the temples and all thereto appertaining, including the national religion. Cf. Thucyd., IV., 98, *τὸν δὲ νόμον τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εἶναι ὧν ἂν ᾗ τὸ κράτος τῆς γῆς ἐκάστης τούτων καὶ τὰ ἱερά δέει γίνεσθαι*. — **οὐκ ἐλλείψει.** The subject, *ὁ δῆμος τῶν Χερρονησιτῶν*, is obvious from the context.

93–101. MY POLICY DID NOT MERELY SAVE THESE PLACES, AND PRESERVE THE FREEDOM OF GREECE, BUT IT ALSO SHOWED THE CHARACTER OF ATHENS IN THE MOST BRILLIANT CONTRAST TO THE CHARACTER OF PHILIP. AND LET ME ALSO JUSTIFY MY POLICY BY AN HISTORICAL RETROSPECT. LOOK AT THE CONDUCT

INVARIABLY PURSUED BY YOUR FOREFATHERS, AND BY THE OLDER AMONG YOU, IN THE TIMES OF LACEDÆMONIAN, AND AFTERWARDS OF THEBAN, SUPREMACY. ATHENIANS HAVE ALWAYS FOUGHT FOR HONOR AND LIBERTY. NO LEAVEN OF MALICE OR REVENGE HAS EVER DEGRADED THEIR FEELINGS.

93. P. 33, l. 1. οὐ μόνον, 2, note, s. v. — 4. ἡ προαίρεσις καὶ ἡ πολιτεία. Dissen calls attention to this as a favorite expression of the orator. See 292, 317. Render, *My policy and administration*. — 6. καλοκαγαθίαν. *Spirit of honor*. The combination of high physical and mental qualities, implied in the well-known phrase καλὸς κάγαθός, approximates, in its idiomatic usage, to our own expression “man of honor.” Here we have the antithesis κακίαν, baseness. — 94. 10. οἱ μεμφόμενοι... ἄν = οἱ ἐμέμφασθε ἄν. C. 618; Cu. 595; G. 211; H. 803. — 11. ἡγνωμονήκεσαν. *Their acts of trespass* (74), i. e. in the Social War, B. C. 357–355; the then allies included, with Byzantium, Chios, Rhodes, and Cos. — 12. οὐ μόνον. *Showed yourselves not merely as bearing no malice and never abandoning the victims of wrong, but even as working their salvation*. σώζειν is not simply to deliver from danger, but to restore to a sound condition. — 17. σύμβουλον... ῥήτορα, a counsellor and orator I mean. He does not mean to deny that the generals had sometimes been the means of the state being honored with crowns. — 95. 20. Εὐβοέων. Æschin., p. 65, περὶ τῶν Εὐβοέων πρῶτον μνησθήσομαι. The speech of Æschines as published does not contain any allusion to the Byzantines; but the speech, as spoken, we must assume, had done so. — 22. βλασφημίας = defamations, συκοφαντίας = malignant calumnies. — 23. ὑπάρχειν εἰδότας. ὑπάρχειν as an auxiliary verb presents the strongest form of the present tense. Dissen cites as parallels, p. 190, ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωκότες, and p. 527, ἐγνωσμένα ὑπάρχει. We have another instance in 228. Whiston renders: *Of this I believe you are already well assured*. — 24. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ... χρήσασθαι, but also by the fact that it was for your interest so to conduct your affairs as I conducted them. The clause is dative of means, limiting ἐπιδείξω. — 26. καθ’ ὑμᾶς. *In your time*, literally *in your track*, i. e. in the path of your own lives: on κατά, cf. 17: κατ’ ἐκείνους. — 27. τῇ πόλει = by the state, dative of the agent after a passive verb. C. 461; Cu. 434; G. 188, 3; H. 600. — P. 34, l. 2. τῶν ὑπαρχόντων. *To shape all their future with reference to the best of their present*. He quotes a general γνώμη with a somewhat unusual application. The connection shows that τῶν ὑπαρχόντων includes their antecedents together

with the present. — 96. 4. **Λακεδαιμονίων**. Vides tempus post Peloponnesiacum bellum describi. DISSEN. — 5. **ἄρμοσταῖς**, 18 : **οἱ πρότερον**. — 6. **Εὔβοιαν**. Captured by the Lacedæmonians B. C. 411. Thucyd., VIII., 93. — **Τάναγραν**. Xen. (*Hell.*, V., 4) mentions that Tanagra remained attached to Lacedæmon after the rest of Bœotia went to war with her. The whole of Bœotia was in the hands of the Lacedæmonians from the close of the Peloponnesian war to the battle of Leuctra. — 7. **Μέγαρα**. Taken from the Athenians by Brasidas, 424 B. C., and attached to Lacedæmon from that time forward. Thucyd. (IV., 66) mentions that the Peloponnesians garrisoned Nisæa for the protection of Megara against Athens. — **Αἴγιναν**. Lysander, in the year 405, restored this island to its original inhabitants whom the Athenians had ejected in 431. Xen., *Hell.*, II. ; 2, Thucyd., II., 27. — **Κλεωνάς**. The date of this city's capture by the Lacedæmonians is not recorded in history. It is singular, as Dissen observes, that the orator should not have arranged the names **Κλεωνάς**, **Εὔβοιαν**, **Αἴγιναν**, *τὰς ἄλλας νήσους*. But the phrase "the rest of the islands," even standing independently of any island previously mentioned, would always mean to Athenian ears the minor Ægean isles. Plut., *Lys.*, 13, 14. — 8. **οὐ τέλχη**. Cf. Plutarch *l. c.* Lysander destroyed the long walls, and limited the Athenian navy to twelve ships of war only : *οὔτε ναῦς* is therefore not to be understood as literal. — 9. **Ἑλίαςπον**. The scene of the battle in Bœotia, B. C. 395, where Lysander fell. The inhabitants of Haliartus had implored the aid of Athens : Thrasybulus with great energy had led the Athenian forces to the rescue. Pausanias only arrived the day after the battle with the Lacedæmonian reinforcements : he was deterred from further hostilities, made a truce and retired. — 10. **Κόρινθον**. The centre of the Corinthian war, which lasted for eight years after Haliartus and was only concluded by the peace of Antalcidas, B. C. 387. The alliance against Lacedæmon was composed of the Bœotians, Argives, Corinthians, and Athenians. p. 40, l. 20 ; p. 258, l. 13. — 11. **ἂν ἔχόντων**. *Might have borne many grudges* = *καίτοι ἂν εἶχον*. — 12. **Δεκελεικόν**. The close of the Peloponnesian war was so called from the occupation of Decelea by the Lacedæmonians, its position on the frontier of Attica making it a convenient base of hostilities. — **τῶν πραχθέντων** is genitive of cause. — 97. 18. **διδόναι**. *To give themselves up*. A favorite use of the word, 80, *ἀφειδῶς ἑαυτὸν διδοὺς εἰς τὰ πράγματα*. 219, *ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς οὐδὲν τῇ πόλει*. The continual and customary



action expressed by the imperfects *ἐποιοῦν*, *ἔδρων*, *προΐεντο*, and *ἤθελον* should be noted. — **πέρας**. *For all mankind have death as their limit of life, even if one shut himself up and keep himself safe in a dove-cote.* This is the meaning Harpocration assigns to *οἰκίσκος*, and the literal translation seems most vigorous here. Whiston translates *chamber* or *closet*. The passage is greatly lauded by all the ancient critics, notably by Hermogenes, Aristides, and Rufus. Propertius (cited by Dissen) illustrates the sentiment, III., 18. 25: *Ille licet ferro cautus se condant et ære, Mors tamen inclusum protrahit inde caput.* — **ὀρθῶς...βουλευόμενοι** in this emphatic position = *and a right and noble decision it was.* — 22. **ἀγαθὴν** is separated from *ἐλπίδα* to point the emphasis of *ἀγαθούς* above. *Good men and true — taking for their shield good hope and true.* *προβαλέσθαι μὲν Εὐβοίαν τῆς Ἀττικῆς*, 301. See the same figure in Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, vi. 16. — 98. 24. **πρόγονοι**. There was an interval of sixty years at least between these events and the time when he is speaking. — **πρεσβύτεροι**, i. e. when the Athenians under Iphicrates checked Epaminondas in his design of destroying Sparta and compelled him to evacuate Laconia, in the year 369. Xen., *H. G.*, VI., 5. — 25. **ὄντας**, concessive. — P. 35, l. 2. **οἷα πεποιηκότων**, *reflecting what the men had done for whom you were to imperil yourselves.* On relative pronouns used interrogatively, as *οἷα* here, see Madvig, *G. S.*, 198, b; H. 825; C. 564. As to the interrogative sentence in a participial form, cf. Madv., 198, a. *καταμεμάθηκας οὖν τοὺς τί ποιῶντας τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο ἀποκαλοῦσιν*, Xen., *Mem.*, II., 2; H. 826; C. 566. — 99. 8. **ὑπολογίεισθε**. *Take it into calculation:* explained by *διαλογισάμενοι* and the preceding words in 98. *ὑπο-* implying an underhand (as *δια-* a thorough) proceeding. — 10. **Εὐβοίαν**. In the year 358 there were two factions in Eubœa, one of which applied to the Thebans for aid, and the other to the Athenians. The Thebans were compelled to yield, and the democratic constitutions of the several states were restored. Diod., XVI., 7; Æschin., p. 65. DISSEN. — **Θεμισῶνος**. Themiso and Theodorus, the *τύραννοι* of Eretria in 366 B. C., seized Oropus which was then Athenian. Peace subsisted at the time. The city was put into the hands of the Thebans, to be held by them until the question, who had the right to it, should be settled. The Thebans subsequently declined to give it up. This is the allusion in Aristot., *Rhet.*, I., 7, where he mentions Callistratus and Chabrias as having been put on their trial. They had commanded the Athenian forces on this occasion. — 12. **ἔθελον**



**τῶν.** The first instance of citizens volunteering to act as extraordinary trierarchs. On the general office of trierarch, see Smith, *Dic. of Antiq.* — 14. **ἀλλ' οὐπω**, *sc. εἰπεῖν μέλλω*. On p. 403, *ἀλλὰ μήπω ταῦτα* (*sc. εἶπω*). And indeed though you did a noble thing in saving the island, yet you acted much more nobly in that, when you had become masters both of their persons and their cities, you restored them justly, etc. *καί* before *τὸ σῶσαι* = *also*; it emphasizes the comparison between the two clauses, and can hardly be expressed in idiomatic English. *καταστάντες* agrees in case with the subject of *ἐποιήσατε*, which is also the subject of *ἀποδοῦναι*. — 100. 18. **μηδὲν ὦν**, *having taken no account of your past wrongs in regard to what you were trusted with*: *ὦν* and *οἷς* by attraction for *ἐκείνων* *ᾧ* and *τούτοις* *ᾧ* respectively: *ἡδίκησθε*, as a perfect tense, indicating the complete and serious nature of the wrongs. The sense of the passage is this: You did not take advantage of holding their property so as to appropriate any to yourselves, by way of indemnification for past injuries received at their hands. — 23. **ἐλευθερίας**. Genitive of cause, without a preposition to introduce it. For the principle, see Madv., *G. S.*, 58, a; C. 429. — 101. 26. **ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς**, *on her own behalf*, p. 74, *καὶ* (Φίλιππος) *πεποίχη' ὑμῖν μὴ περὶ τῶν δικαίων μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων εἶναι τὴν βουλὴν*, *ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ἀττικὴν πολέμου*. — 27. **βουλῆς οὕσης** is gen. abs. denoting time and cause, *when the deliberation was in a manner in behalf of herself*. — **κελεύσειν** = *urge, move*. — P. 36, l. 1. **μνησικακεῖν**. The irony is obvious. As an example of *νῆ Δία*, in irony, Whiston aptly cites the *c. Mid.*, p. 527, l. 14, *τίς ἀνθρωπίνη καὶ μετρία σκῆψις φανέται τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ; ὀργὴ νῆ Δία καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τυχὸν λέξει*. — 4. **τῶν ὑπαρχόντων...καλῶν**, *glorious antecedents*. WHISTON. Cf. note, 95. — 5. **λόγῳ...τό γε ἔργον**. The favorite antithesis of Pericles, Thucyd., II., 35–46 *passim*.

102–106. I PROCEED, IN MY RETROSPECT, TO MY NEXT POLITICAL ACTION, WHEN I RECONSTITUTED YOUR NAVY, AND COMPELLED THE SECTIONS TO DO THEIR DUTY. HERE IS THE EVIDENCE.

102. 12. **καταλύόμενον**, *in a state of dissolution*. *κατάλυσις τριήρους ὁμολογεῖται αὕτη εἶναι πρώτη ὅταν τις μισθὸν μὴ δῇ*, p. 1209, l. 11. In that passage there is a play upon the word which would mean *disbanding* as well as *ruin*. The orator was at this time in office as *ἐπιστάτης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ*, i. e. a Member of the Naval Board. Æschin. (p. 85). — 13. **ἀτελεῖς**, *immunes: exempted*, *ἀτελεῖς τῶν ἄλλων λειτουργιῶν*, p. 565, l. 4. — **ἀπό**, *at a cost of* = the Latin *pro*: *ἀπὸ τῶν αὐ-*

τῶν λημμάτων στρατιώτης, i. e. at the same pay, p. 38, l. 2. Cf. *sup.* ἀπὸ ταλάντων, 92. Dissen cites ἀπὸ σμικροῦ Aristoph., *Plut.*, 377. The wealthy citizens, when appointed trierarchs, used to contract for the whole expense of the office at a cost of one talent: cf. p. 364. — 15. ὑστερίζουσιν, missing for want of punctuality. ὑστεριοῦμεν ἀπάντων, p. 49, l. 1. τοὺς ἀποστόλους ὑστερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν, p. 50, l. 11. — 16. ἔθηκα. Strictly the active τιθέναι νόμον would only apply to one despotic lawgiver. *Sup.*, 6. Here the orator applies it to himself, as he did before to Solon, to indicate the extent of his influence. The law in question was proposed by him B. C. 340. — 103. 20. γραφεῖς, having been indicted for this trial. The passive γράφεσθαι (in this technical sense) is often constructed with an accusative of cognate meaning (see Madvig., *G. S.*, 26, b.), γραφὴν ὕβρεως γραφεῖς οὐδέπω τούτων δίκην δέδωκε, Isæus, p. 73, l. 75. The accusative ἀγῶνα has to do double duty, depending on γραφεῖς in the above construction and also on εἰσῆλθον which follows. Cf. εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφὴν, 105. — 21. εἰσῆλθον, sc. εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. I came into court into your presence is the literal meaning here. Dissen remarks that εἰσερχεσθαι and εἰσιέναι are used both of the prosecutor (see p. 501, l. 19) and of the defendant (see p. 1081, l. 13). We may paraphrase the passage: On this count I was indicted and appeared before you and obtained acquittal. — τό, sc. τὸ πέμπτον, 82 note ἀτιμώσαντες. — 23. ἡγεμόνας. *The Heads of the Sections.* At this time (from 358 onwards) the expenses of the Navy were provided for on the same system as the Property Tax. Each of the ten tribes at Athens nominated its 120 wealthiest citizens to serve as Subscribers (συντελεῖς) to the Naval Expenses. These 120 were divided into two Sections (συμμορίαι) of 60. Thus a company would be formed of 1200 Subscribers, divided into 20 Sections. By a separate subdivision they were arranged in four classes of 300 each, in reference to the actual amount of their property. The first (i. e. the wealthiest) class were entitled ἡγεμόνες or πᾶν πλούσιοι or οἱ τριακῶσιοι. They appear to have served as a general committee of management, and, in the event of any sudden demand for money, it was their duty to pay over the amount at once to the state (c. *Phænipp.*, p. 146) on behalf of the whole Company. The remaining three classes (ἡττον πλούσιοι) would then reimburse the ἡγεμόνες by paying up their shares in instalments at their convenience. By this system every συντελεῖς paid exactly the same amount of tax, whatever the amount of his income. The reform

proposed by the orator was, that the amount of tax henceforward should be in proportion to the respective properties. This change, of course, would be a great relief to the lowest class of *συντελεῖς*, but the *ἡγεμόνες*, the *δεύτεροι*, and the *τρίτοι* would have obvious reasons for objecting. — 24. *δευτέρους*, the *Second Class*, i. e. the second wealthiest 300. For fuller account of the Sections see Dic. Antiq., *εἰσφορά* and *συμμορία*. — *διδόναι*, imperfect: *were for giving me* i. e. *offered me*: *δραχμὰς πεντήκοντα αὐτοῖς ἐδίδου*, p. 542, l. 9. — 25. *μά-λιστα μὲν*, if possible, lit. *as most to be desired*. This antithesis to *εἰ δὲ μὴ* is too common to require illustration. — 26. *καταβαλόντα*. I agree with Kennedy in taking this to mean *after having proposed it* (the law), lit. *having entered it* in the public register, kept *ἐν τῷ Μητρῷ*, the Temple of the Mother of the Gods. Whiston and others prefer to interpret “having dropped it,” as an expansion of *ἔαν*. But I rather doubt this use of *καταβάλλειν* in the orators. We have, indeed, in Aristotle, *πολλοὶ λόγοι πρὸς αὐτὰ καταβέβληνται* (“thrown away upon”) *N. E.* (3) 5 (*fin.*). — *ἔαν κ. τ. λ.*, to let it drop under an affidavit. One method of obstructing a proposed law was for its opponent to take an affidavit that he would prosecute the proposer on a charge of *παράνομα* (13). This affidavit being taken, the piece of legislation had to be suspended until the action for *παράνομα* should have been settled. Matters being thus in abeyance, there was a famous opening for collusion and compromise: the prosecutor, for instance, might agree with the legislator that the former would proceed no further with his action if the latter would proceed no further with his law. This or the like conspiracy is implied in the present passage. — *ὑπωμοσία*. Harpocration mentions another technical meaning of this word = “oath of excuse on the part of a defendant,” the object, however, being the same in that case also, viz., to “delay the proceedings.” *τὸ ὑπερτίθεσθαι δίκην προφάσει χρώμενοι ἀποδημία ἢ νόσῳ ἢ τινι τῶν παραπλησίων μεθ’ ὅρκου*. — 27. *ῥσα*. *An amount that I should be shocked to mention*. Rhetorical artifice. Dinarchus states the amount at three talents, and declares that the orator took it. *εἰσὶ τινες ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τῶν ἐν τοῖς τριακοσίοις γεγεννημένων ὅθ’ οὗτος ἐτίθει τὸν περὶ τριηράρχων νόμον; οὐ φράσετε τοῖς πλησίον ὅτι τρία τάλαντα λαβὼν μετέγραφε καὶ μετεσκεύαζε τὸν νόμον καθ’ ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπώλει ὧν εἰλήφει τὴν τιμὴν, τὰ δ’ ἀποδόμενος οὐκ ἐβεβαίον; c. Demosth., p. 95, 42. — 104. P. 37, l. 1. *καὶ ταῦτ’*. *And very natural were these intrigues on their part*. *ἐπραττον*, as the imper-*

fect of uncompleted action. — **ἦν γὰρ κ. π. λ.** *For under the previous laws they had to serve sixteen together, spending little or nothing themselves but grinding down the impoverished of the citizens; whereas, under my law, they had to return the rated amount in each case according to their property, and the man appeared as trierarch of two triremes who previously subscribed a mere sixteenth to one.* — 2. **λειτουργεῖν.** This infinitive and **τιθέναι** which follows are the subjects of **ἦν**, on which **αὐτοῖς** depends as a dative of reference. Madvig, *G. S.*, 38, a; C. 459. — 3. **μικρὰ καί.** An instance of the Greek idiom which introduces the conjunctive particle where the disjunctive would be most natural. **τὸ δυσμαχώτατον τῶν πραγμάτων ὑμῖν καὶ βέλτιστον**, p. 10, l. 9. In such passages **καί** is emphatic = *yes, even*. — 4. **τοὺς ἀπόρους**, i. e. the fourth class of the *συντελεῖς* above described. — **ἐπιτρίβουσιν.** The orator uses **ἐπιτρίβειν** with another sense of *ruin*, p. 288, l. 20, **ἐπιτρίβει τοὺς ἥρωας κακῶς ὑποκρινόμενος**. — 5. **τὸ γιγνόμενον**, *the result produced*: i. e. the amount arrived at by calculating the rate on the whole amount of their property (**κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν**). By the law of Nausinicus (B. C. 378) the rate was one fifth. — **ἕκαστον**, neut. agreeing with **τὸ γιγνόμενον**. So Holmes. More probably masc., subject of **τιθέναι**. So Whiston and Westermann. — 6. **ὁ.** The ratable proportion of such a person's property must have amounted to twice ten talents, according to the second **κατάλογος**, 106. His property would therefore be one hundred talents. **τὸ γιγνόμενον** *sup. note*. — 7. **τριηράρχους**, i. e. evading the real duties of the *τριηραρχία* they had even dropped the name under the system of *συντέλεια*. — **Οὐδέ** = *not even*. — **ἔτι** = *any longer*. *For they did not even any longer call themselves trierarchs.* — 8. **ὥστε δὴ.** *Sooth, to get these reforms suppressed and evade the compulsion to do what was right, there is nothing in the world which they did not offer.* We have to supply **αὐτοί** with the infinitive **ἀναγκασθῆναι**. — 105. 11. **καθ' ὃ**, *in consequence of which I was prosecuted* = that line of procedure which led to the result in question. — 12. **καταλόγους.** *Schedules.* The usual sense of **κατάλογος** is a *muster-roll* or *registered list*. We should have expected the documents which follow, as Newman observes, to contain the names of citizens with the respective amount of their properties specified. As it is, they merely contain what appear to be fragments of laws. — **ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.** Clearly spurious from its contents. It is not a decree, but a mere historical memorandum. — **Πολυκλέους.** The date of the trierarchic reforms was 340. Theophrastus, not Polycles, is the Archon Eponymus on record. DINDORF. — **τριη-**

**παρχικόν.** Several codices insert *εἰς τό* before this word. The sense would not be affected; only in that case we must render *in relation to the trierarchic department*. The expression would be harsh and unusual. Newman translates *εἰς τό κ. τ. λ.*, "laid a copy of the law before the admiralty"; an interpretation hardly tenable. — **ἐπεχειρό-  
τόνησεν.** *Ratified the law.* The *ἐπιχειροτονία νόμων* is mentioned in p. 706, l. 7. — **ἀπήνεγκε,** *sc. γραφήν.* *Brought a charge; literally carried it off to the Archon.* See note 54. — **τὰς πεντακοσίας.** *Legitima erat mille drachmarum pœna sed minui poterat a populo.* V. Lelyveld, *de infamia*, p. 235. **DISSEN.** See Smith's *Dic. Antiq.*, *Γραφή*. Observe the force of the article = *the usual* or *legal*. — 106. 14. **καλόν.** *That precious, viz., the old one.* Ironical: *καλὴν γε ὕβριν ἤμεν ἂν ὕβρισ-  
μένοι,* p. 128, l. 2. — **καλεῖσθαι.** *The trierarchs to be summoned, sixteen for each trireme, ἐπὶ = per, distributive.* For the use of the infinitive here, see C. 670; G. 271. — **λόχοις.** Usually of a military division, but Aristotle uses it as correlative with *φρατρία* and *φύλη* which are civil (*Pol.*, 5. 8). It is generally supposed to be synonymous with *συμμορία* here. Whiston translates, *according to the associations in the classes*. — **ἐπὶ ὕσον,** *to an equal extent, i. e. share and share alike, equally.* — **χορηγία.** *Discharging their office.* *χορ.* here is not in its strict acceptation, but in the general sense of *λειτουργία*, which Wolf notices on the *Leptin.*, p. 462, l. 20. — P. 38. **τοὺς τριη-  
ράρχους.** *The trierarchs to be taken for each trireme, according to their property by valuation, from ten talents upwards, ἀπὸ* first of the "origin" for the selection, secondly, of the "point from which" they should begin to reckon. The notion of *κατὰ τίμησιν* has been already explained: *τὸ γιγνόμενον* *sup.* 104 note. — **ἐὰν δέ.** *But if their property be rated at a larger sum, let their service be in the same proportion up to three vessels and a tender; i. e. for every ten talents in the rating let them provide one trireme; but of this the following limit: no one to be called upon for more than three triremes and a small vessel of war. πλοῖον* usually of merchant ships, but used as the generic name for any vessel. — **κατὰ τήν.** *And let it (λειτουργία) be in the same proportion for those persons also whose property [as rated] is less than the ten talents, forming themselves into a company to make up the ten talents, i. e. till the rated amounts of their joint properties make up that sum.* The use of *εἰς* here, as of *ἀπὸ* above, is somewhat harsh and overstrained; but the meaning is obvious from the context.

107 – 109. WAS THIS A SLIGHT SERVICE OF MINE? DID IT NOT

TRANSFER THE BURDEN FROM THE POORER CLASSES TO THE RICH? DURING ALL THE WAR, THANKS TO MY DECREE, THERE WAS NO APPEAL FOR RELIEF PRESENTED BY ANY OFFICER. MY POLICY WAS AS BENEFICIAL TO YOU AS IT WAS CONDUCIVE TO YOUR HONOR. AS I DECLINED TO CONCILIATE THE WEALTHY THEN, SO AM I ABOVE SUSPICION IN THE MATTER OF PHILIP'S BRIBES.

107. 4. τοῦ. Genitive of the object of the price, or of the purpose. Madvig, *G. S.*, 65, 6; C. 664; Cu. 574, 3; G. 262, 2; H. 781. — 5. πλούσιοι. We have to supply δοκοῦσιν from δοκῶ above. — τῷ. Dative of cause. σεμνύνομαι more usually has ἐπί with dative, p. 617, l. 5. — καθυφείναι. *To compromise.* καθυφείς τὸν ἀγῶνα, p. 525, l. 26; p. 563, l. 19; p. 652, l. 21; literally to drop in an underhand manner. — 6. οὐδέ, and not only, the force of the μόνον still continuing. Cf. 93 and 2, note. — 7. πείραν δεδωκέναι, to have given proof in action. p. 663, l. 19, πείραν ἔργῳ λαβών. — 8. πάντα τὸν πόλεμον. B. C. 340 (73) to 338. — γιγνομένων. *Being appointed.* — ἀποστόλων, sup. 80. — 9. ἰκετηρίαν ἔθηκε. *Appealed*, literally deposited a bough of supplication: the formal method of appealing to the state for relief. The bough was of olive, bound with wool (εἰρεσιώγη). There were two forms of the appeal; one to the βουλή, the other to the δῆμος: in the former case the suppliant deposited his bough as an offering on the altar in the βουλευτήριον; in the latter case on the altar in the Pryx. — 10. παρ' ὑμῖν, before you, sc. the people. Observe the emphatic repetition of the negative οὐχ...οὐκ...οὐχ...οὐ without any connective. It may be expressed by none. — 11. Μουνυχία. The altar of Artemis Munychia; so called from its being situated in the vicinity of the port. This proceeding was another form of appeal. Soph., *O. T.*, 2, 3. — ἐκαθέζετο, seated himself, that is, took refuge. — ἀποστολέων. The Naval Board who superintended the affairs of the ἀπόστολοι. They were ten in number (p. 1147). From ἐδέσθην which follows it is clear that they had the power of imprisonment. — 12. ἔξω, at sea, opposed to αὐτοῦ, in harbor. Observe the distinction between καταλειφθεῖσα, abandoned, and ἀπελείφθη, left behind. — 14. ἀνάγεσθαι. *To put out.* p. 910, l. 7: the antithesis to κατάργεσθαι, p. 96, l. 27. — 108. ἐν τοῖς πένησιν. Thrown upon the poorer classes. τὸ αἴτιον is the accusative case. Madvig, *G. S.*, 31, c. — P. 39, l. 2. βάσκανον, κ. τ. λ., malignant and malevolent and corrupt. The allusion in the author's favorite words, βάσκανος, βασκαίνω, βασκανία, is always to malicious mischief, the literal sense which refers to the evil eye being merged in



the metaphorical. We have βάσκανος again 119, 132, 242, 317. — 4. οὐδὲ ταπεινόν is emphatic = *no, nor mean*. — 5. ἔχων...φανήσομαι, *I shall be shown to have, that is, it will be clearly proved that I have*. — 109. 10. ἀντί. *In preference to*. ἀντὶ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐλέσθαι, p. 9, l. 1. This use of the preposition is very common.

110. I WILL NOW REPLY TO THE SPECIAL CHARGES OF ILLEGALITY IN THE MATTER OF THE PROCLAMATION AND THE AUDIT.

13. κηρύγματος...εὐθυνῶν, 55. — 16. τὰ μέγιστα. He alludes to the sequel of his policy up to the date of Chæronea. — 18. ὑπολαμβάνων, κ. τ. λ. *Conceiving as I do, in the first place, that, next in order, I must render the explanation concerning the illegality itself (with which I am charged); in the second place, that, although I say not a word about the sequel of my policy, yet I shall equally (all the same) have to my credit that consciousness of the facts which is in each of your hearts*.

111–116. I DO NOT DENY MY RESPONSIBILITY TO AUDIT. BUT I DO DENY ON PRINCIPLE THAT A DONOR IS PRECLUDED FROM A VOTE OF THANKS BECAUSE HE CHANCES TO BE AN OFFICIAL. OTHER DONORS HAVE RECEIVED THE THANKS OF THE STATE FOR THEIR DONATIONS THOUGH HOLDING OFFICE AT THE TIME AND THEREFORE RESPONSIBLE AS I WAS. I CITE THE DECREES TO PROVE IT.

111. 23. ἄνω καὶ κάτω, *up and down*, the favorite phrase to indicate total confusion, p. 51, l. 2; p. 120, l. 19; p. 424, l. 27. The French *bouleversement* is analogous. — 24. διακυκῶν, *jumbling*. KENNEDY. Perhaps the whole may be paraphrased in a *bewildered medley*. — παραγεγραμμένων. *Transcribed for comparison*. The clauses of such laws as conflicted with Ctesiphon's proposal Æschines would exhibit in writing side by side with particular clauses of the latter. Cf. p. 640, l. 20, οὐ τολῶνν τούτους μόνον τοὺς νόμους, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παραβέβηκεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς οὓς οὐ παραγεγράμμεθα διὰ τὸ πλῆθος. — 26. τοὺς πολλοὺς, *sc. λόγων, the majority of them*. — τὴν ὀρθήν, *sc. ὁδόν*. Adverbial accusative. Cf. 322. — 27. τοσούτου γὰρ δέω. *For I am so far from disowning my responsibility, as alleged by the plaintiff in his recent imputation and asseveration, that I own myself to have been responsible, my whole life through, for any commission or policy which I have sustained before you*. διωρίζετο describes the minute exactness with which Æschines had defined the illegal acts: ὦν, by attraction, depending on ὑπεύθυνος: διακεχέρικα of special offices, as distinct from general administration. — 112. P. 40, l. 4. ὦν μέντοι γε. *But for*



what I have given to the commonwealth on my own offer from my private property, for that, I say, I am not responsible, no not for a single day. — δέδωκα in connection with ἐπαγγειλάμενος amounts to ἐπιδέδωκα. On the subject of ἐπιδόσεις (patriotic donations) cf. Smith, *Die. Ant.*, sub verbo. — 6. οὐδ' ἄλλον οὐδένα, sc. ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι : the subject of εἶναι here passes into the accusative, as it is no longer identical with the subject of φημί. Madvig, *G. S.*, 160, 161. — 7. οὐδ' ἄν. Not even if he chance to be one of the nine Archons; i. e. however distinctly official may be the position which he holds, it would not preclude him from receiving the thanks of the state for his patriotic donations. That would be virtually making him ὑπεύθυνος (forsooth) in respect of the donations themselves. The orator's argument, put more plainly, is this. I gave large donations to the state : true I was a state official at the time, and so far responsible to scrutiny ; but the vote of thanks was awarded to me not at all as a state official, simply as a state benefactor. The argument of Æschines had been that the orator's donations must not be allowed to justify a proceeding which was ipso facto illegal, viz. the crowning of a commissioner before the accounts of his commission had been audited (c. *Ctesiph.*, p. 56). — 10. φιλόδωρον. *Munificent*. We should naturally expect a word so formed to mean *fond of gifts*, not *fond of giving*. SCHÄFER. It is the only exception to the rule of words compounded with φιλο-. — 11. συκοφάντας. *To take him before the Pettifoggers and set them to audit his donations*. For λογιστάς or εὐθύνους he substitutes, by contempt, συκοφάντας, the acme of opprobrious designation. It would be monstrous, he means, for such a donor to be cited before the Auditors at all ; still more monstrous if the Auditors in question happened, as was likely enough, to be a set of pettifogging scoundrels. — 113. 15. οὗτος is subject of φησὶν in the next line. — 16. ἐπέδωκα. Cf. ἐπαγγειλάμενος δέδωκα, 112, note, and 28. — ἐπήγεσεν. Æschines had said nothing of the kind. See c. *Ctesiph.*, p. 55, where the whole and sole point is μὴ στεφανοῦν. The orator, however, prefers to cite the substance and not the letter of the charge, for obvious reasons. The strength of the charge lay in its letter entirely. — 17. οὐ περὶ...οὐδενός, yes, but not for any of these. γέ = yes but. So γέ, below, l. 20, may be rendered yes. — 21. οὐκ ἐλογιζόμην, made no account of it, that is, did not charge it to the state. — ὁ μὲν γὰρ λογισμός, κ. τ. λ., for an account requires audits and examiners, but a free gift deserves thanks and praise. — 24. ὁδὶ. Deictic : pointing to Ctesiphon, who would be standing by. — οὕτω ὥρι-

σται = *this is a settled principle*. — 114. 26. ἔθουσιν. This is an almost irresistible correction for the manuscript ἡθεσιν, suggested by Reiske and adopted by Dindorf. The antithesis of ἔθος, *conventional practice*, to νόμος, *legal rule*, is so very constant, p. 414, l. 8, and 275, τοῖς ἀγράφοις νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους ἔθεσι. On the contrast of ἔθος and ἡθος, cf. Aristot., *N. E.*, II. 1. So Holmes. The best editors, however, generally adhere to ἡθεσιν, *habits, ethics*, which is equally appropriate. — 27. Ναυσικλῆς. His case corresponds to the orator's only so far, that he was ὑπεύθυνος as being in office (στρατηγῶν) and yet received a crown several times in that period. — στρατηγῶν. In command of the Athenian contingent which supported the Phocians in 352. Diodorus, XVI., 37. — P. 41, l. 2. ὅτε. There is a various reading ὅτι, *because*; but only in b. The alteration seems undesirable, especially as we need a particle of time to explain the change of tense in ἐστεφανοῦντο compared with the perfects which precede and follow. Drake, in his edition of the two Orationes on the Crown, says: The perfect (ἐστεφάνωνται and τετίμηται) denotes that Nausicles and Neoptolemus were still living, the imperfect (ἐστεφανοῦντο) that Diotimus and Charidemus were dead. But? The last is rather the relative imperfect. — Διότιμος. Possibly the same person as is mentioned in the *c. Mid.*, p. 581, where ὁ Εὐωνυμεύς is added. Spalding considers them identical. Arrian (I., 10. 6) mentions a Diotimus as one of the ten orators whose surrender Alexander demanded. *Sup.*, 41 (*fin.*). — 3. Χαρίδημος. Probably the same person as appears in the *c. Aristocr.*, 623 sq., a native of Oreus in Eubœa and commander of the mercenary auxiliaries to Cersobleptes in Thrace. — οὐτοσί. Deictic, as ὁδὶ, 113. We have Neoptolemus mentioned in the *c. Mid.*, p. 583, l. 14. — 4. ἔργων, i. e. *public works*. See Dic. Ant., s. v. Ἐπιστάτης. — 7. ἐξέσται. *Is to be allowed*. The indic. future is more vigorous in this protasis than the natural optative; cf. 63, κωλύσει. — 115. 9. τούτοις... αὐτά, *the very decrees which have been passed in honor of these men*. — Ἀρχων. This pendent nominative, in lieu of the usual Ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος, at once suggests a spurious document. — Φλυεύς. The deme Phlyes was in the tribe Cecropis. Droysen (p. 924) pronounces Demonicus to be "pseudonymus." The addition of the deme to the name of the archon is unusual and marks the document as spurious. — ἔκτη. *The twenty-sixth*. Usitatio altera numerandi ratio πέμπτη φθίνοντος: sed illius quoque exempla attulit Böckh., *de Arch. Pseudep.*, pp. 150, 154. DISSEN. See Dic. Ant., Calendar. — δοκεῖ. On the present tense,

cf. 90, διατελεί, note. — **δπλων.** *Sup.*, 38, note, s. v.: where also διοικήσεως *inf.* is explained. — **Ἰμβρῳ.** Dissen supposes that this refers to the Social war of 355. Diodorus, XVI., 21. There must have been Athenian garrisons at that time in Lemnos and Imbros both. — **κατοικοῦσιν**, i. e. as colonists (κληροῦχοι). — **χειμῶνας.** Referred by some commentators to the Etesian winds. Dindorf takes it of ordinary bad weather. — **εἰσέπραξε.** *Exacted repayment from.* πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ νῦν προσήκει ὑμᾶς τοῦτον εἰσπράξαι μοι τὰ ἀναλώματα; p. 1227, l. 9. — **116. πρυτάνεων λεγόντων.** The expression is without a parallel, and suggestive of a spurious document. It appears to mean *on the motion of the Prytanes.* — **ποταμοῦ.** According to Winiewski (*Comment.*, p. 63) the river Bocarus in Salamis is intended; but there is nothing to substantiate that view. Newman, with greater probability, suspects that the designation ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ is derived, by a blunder, from 216 (*inf.*), where the river meant is certainly the Cephissus, and where there is no allusion to Salamis whatever. — **σκυλευθέντων.** *Stripped of their arms*, which would necessitate fresh supplies in the armory department. Cf. Lys., p. 143, l. 44. — **τοὺς νεανίσκους.** A strange term for στρατιώτας. WHISTON. — P. 42. Παναθηναίοις. A time when there would be a great concourse in the city, as in hypoth. 2, ὅτε πλήθη συντρέχει. On the Panathenæa and the Dionysia, see Smith, Dic. Ant., s. v. — **γυμνικῷ**, i. e. on the day of the gymnastic contests, which would appear from this to have been the special attraction of the Panathenæa. — **θεσμοθέτας.** The six junior Archons, besides their judicial functions, were ex officio presidents at the Festivals and on similar public occasions. ἀγωνοθέτας, 84 (*fin.*). See Dict. Ant., s. vv.

117. THESE PERSONS WERE NOT HELD DISQUALIFIED. THEREFORE I MUST NOT BE. I WAS NOT LIABLE ON ACCOUNT OF MY BENEFACTIONS. I HAVE PASSED THE AUDIT OF MY OFFICE. WHY DID YOU NOT OPPOSE MY PASSING AT THE TIME?

3. οὐκοῦν, strictly speaking, is always interrogative, equivalent to *nonne igitur* in Latin, and requiring an affirmative answer. In its practical use, however, the interrogative form disappears, and the particle becomes inferential only, but stronger than the simple οἶν. The interrogative force, however, is always present though latent. For instance, the literal translation here would be: Am not I therefore myself also [οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος]? — **ταῦτά γάρ.** *For I have, I presume, the same rights as other people about the same things.* The sarcastic

tone of the platitude is obvious. — 4. τοῖς ἄλλοις, dative after ταῦτά. C. 451; Cu. 436, b; G. 186; H. 603. — ἐπαινοῦμαι. *I receive a vote of thanks*: historical present; and the ὦν which follows is the same. — 4. ὑπεύθυνος, i. e. disqualified by official responsibility from receiving the vote of thanks. The platitude, of course, is again sarcastic. — 6. ἦρχον. *I WAS in office at the time, no doubt*. And so far he admits that he was ὑπεύθυνος. — καὶ δέδωκά γε, *yes, and I have given account for that, not for what I gave as patriotic donations*. — ἐκείνων, as emphatically distinct from ὦν ἐπέδωκα, *sup.*, 112, note on οὐδ' ἄν. He could not, he admits, *qua* officer receive any public vote of thanks; but *qua* benefactor he contends that he could. The argument might be defended in equity, but in law it is certainly no reply to Æschines. The reply should have shown either that the orator had ceased to be ὑπεύθυνος when the vote was proposed, or else that the law made a special exception in favor of benefactors. — 7. νῆ Δί'. *But, forsooth, I did wrong in office*. Then *why did you not appear to accuse me when the auditors had me up?* νῆ Δία (*you will say: at enim:*) in its constant ironical use to preface a supposed assertion of the opponent. εἰσάγειν here has its technical sense of the magistrate presiding in court; see Dic. Ant., Δίκη. — 8. λογισταί. For a full account of these officers, see Smith's excellent article Εὐθύνη, Dic. Ant. The conciseness, vivacity, point, and vigor of this passage are remarkable even in Demosthenes.

118 – 120. NOW READ THE WHOLE BILL, THAT I MAY PROVE MY OPPONENT'S MALIGNITY BY HIS OMISSIONS AS MUCH AS BY HIS SPECIFICATIONS. HE DWELLS ON THE INIQUITY OF PASSING ME A VOTE OF THANKS, BUT HE QUITE FORGETS TO MENTION WHAT I HAVE DONE TO DESERVE IT.

118. 12. τοῦτοις. Dative of the instrument: antecedent to οἷς which is the object of ἐγράψατο but attracted into the case of its antecedent: *By the points of the bill which he did not indict, by these very points, I say, his charges shall be proved calumnious*. The usual construction of the verb συκοφαντεῖν is with an accusative either of the person or of the thing: I can find no instance of it with a dative, and therefore have deviated from the usual translation, which connects τοῦτοις with συκοφαντῶν here (*calumnious in those points which he does attack*) as a contrast to ἃ οὐκ above. The dative in this case must be taken as a dative of relation, but the construction will not be so satisfactory. The sense, however, is excellent in either case: cf. ταῦτ' ἔσθ' ἃ διώ-

κεις, 119. — ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Another spurious document. The date of Ctesiphon's psephisma was 337 B. C. Euthycles was not the Archon : for the first six months Charondas was in office, then Phrynichus. Again, this document is clearly not *ὅλον τὸ γραφέν*, for we find in the speech of Æschines, p. 87, that the genuine *προβούλευμα* began with an allusion to *τάφρους* as distinct from *τείχη*. Lastly, the document has no particular connection with what goes before or comes after in the argument. See Böhnecke, Vol. I., p. 581. — *ἐνάτη ἀπιόντος*, the twenty-first. See Calendar in Dic. Antiq. — *προσαναλώσας*. Observe the force of the *πρός*, in addition to the public moneys, thus corresponding with the *ἐπί* in *ἐπέδωκε*. — *θεωροῖς*. This is Schäfer's, Jacob's, and Dindorf's accepted emendation. They understand *θεωροί* here to be commissioners who were to superintend the public sacrifices, e. g. the Eleusinia. There is, however, no authority for the existence of such an office at Athens. There is an equally ingenious interpretation of the MS. reading *θεωρικοῖς* — *the theatrical funds of all the tribes* — assuming that each tribe had a separate fund for this purpose, and that Demosthenes gave 100 minæ to each. Considering that the whole document is spurious, it is a matter of surprise that so much ingenuity should have been lavished upon this single word. — *ἀρετῆς κ. τ. λ.* *Sup.*, 54 note. — 119. P. 43, l. 5. *παρανόμων γράφει*, you indict for illegality. *παρανόμων* genitive of the crime; *γράφει*, middle voice to express the act of the prosecutor in getting the name of the defendant entered (written) by the magistrate. — 7. *ποῖός τις*. In heaven's name what would be the ideal of an utter villain, God-detested and calumnious thoroughly? *δυνως* qualifies the whole sentence, whether we take it with the three epithets or with the verb. *πρός θεῶν* is only used in questions, adjurations, and entreaties; never to strengthen an affirmative oath or assertion. — 120. 8. *θεάτρῳ*. The peculiar honor of this proclamation in the theatre has been already discussed at 83. As regards the number of times (*μυριάκις...πολλάκις*) besides rhetorical hyperbole, there is also another explanation. We learn from Æschines (pp. 58 sq.) that these proclamations in the theatre in the first instance were made without requiring the sanction of any law whatever: that they then became so frequent as to be a positive nuisance: that their publicity made them to be regarded erroneously as a greater honor than the legally sanctioned proclamations in the Boule or Ecclesia: that on this account the Dionysiac law (83) was ultimately passed to limit them. We

may well suppose that the orator refers to the period before the Dionysiac law when he talks of *μυριάκις* and *πολλάκις*, as well as referring to the period after the Dionysiac law was passed when the occasions would naturally be more rare. — 12. *οὐ δύνασαι*. There is another reading *οὐ δύνασθαι*, which would be the same in translation, and but slightly different in meaning. When *ὥστε* is followed by the indicative mood the consequence is described as a certain fact, either in the present or in the past, *coincident in time* with the tense of the verb on which the consecutive sentence depends (33, *μισθοῦται*): when *ὥστε* is followed by the infinitive, the consequence is described as a probable result, *future in time* to the tense of the verb on which the consecutive sentence depends. The former construction is a strong and indisputable assertion; the latter is less strong and less indisputable. Supposing the consequence to be of a negative shape, that negative in the stronger construction will always, of course, be *οὐ*, in the weaker construction it will usually be the weaker negative, *μή*. But if the result is future in time, yet also certain in fact, the two constructions are so far fused that the mood is the infinitive on account of the futurity, and the negative is *οὐ* on account of the certainty. Two examples may be cited at once:—

- (1) *οὐ μακρὰν γὰρ τειχέων περιπτυχαὶ*  
*ὥστ' οὐχ ἅπαντὰ δ' εἶδέναι τὰ δρώμενα.*

EURIP., *Phœn.*, 1357, 8.

Here the knowledge obtained was future to the time when the walls were built, and yet certain, for Creon possessed it.

- (2) *ὥστ' οὔτε νυκτὸς ὕπνον οὔτ' ἐξ ἡμέρας*  
*ἐμὲ στεγάζειν ἠδύν.*

SOPH., *Elect.*, 780, 1.

Here the consequence was future to the threat and yet experience had made it a certainty to Clytemnestra. See, however, Mr. Shilleto's admirable note (*de F. L.*, p. 203), and Whiston's note on this passage. C. 671; Cu. 565, 617; G. 266; H. 770, 771. The force of *τὰ οὐ καλὰ* compared with *τὰ μὴ καλὰ* is somewhat analogous. — 13. *τὸν αὐτὸν ζῆλον*. This answers Æschines' remark p. 60, *ἀπείπη μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τοῖς τραγωδοῖς ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐρανίσκων στεφάνους καὶ κηρύγματα ψευδῇ φιλοτιμίαν κτᾶται*. Demosthenes contends that the greater publicity enhances the benefit, not to the man who receives the



crown, but to those who confer it or see it conferred. — **NΟΜΟΣ**. Clearly not a genuine document. It does not correspond with the account of the Dionysiac law given by Æschines (p. 58 sq.), nor with the words of Demosthenes in the next section (πλήν...ψηφίσηται), which are obviously a verbal citation. Nor would it at all strengthen the orator's argument here, but quite the contrary. Judging from the two conflicting orations, the law must have run in substance thus: "No crowns are to be proclaimed in the theatre, except the Demos or the Boule sanction them by a special decree. And these crowns let the herald proclaim." Æschines interprets the word "crowns" in this law as limited to ξενικοί στεφανοί absolutely (εἰ γὰρ σέ τις ἄλλη πόλις στεφανοῖ). Demosthenes interprets the word as including any and every species of "crown." He cites *usage* in confirmation of his view. Æschines cites *law* (the other law about crowns) in confirmation of his. So far as the law goes Æschines seems to be right; but his interpretation could not have been familiar to his audience, or else he would not have required to enforce it with such prolixity (p. 58 sq.). So far as *usage* went Demosthenes must have been right, or else his audience would never have tolerated his saying what he does. No doubt both interpretations of the Dionysiac law were possible; one was elaborate and strict, the other familiar and lax. There is no need, so far as I can see, to impute insincerity to either view: but in this I differ from former editors. — 121. P. 44, l. 3. ἀναγορευέτω, i. e. ὁ κήρυξ. Reiske however supplies ἡ βουλὴ or ὁ δῆμος. Surely the act of proclamation could not be attributed to the corporate body. — ἐλλεβορίζεις. *Take a course of hellebore*; the supposed cure for madness. Cf. Horace, 2 *Sat.*, iii., 82, 3; 166. *De A. P.*, 300. — φθόνου, gen. of motive; ἀδικήματος, of crime. So in English the relation in both may be expressed by *for*. — 8. ὁμωμοκόσι. On the oath of the Dicasts see 6, note οὐ μόνον; and 2, τὸν ὄρκον. — 122. 10. δημοτικῷ. *Patriot*. This is in answer to the passage in Æschines, p. 77, where he draws the picture of the ideal "demotic," attributing five qualities as essential; to be (1) free born, (2) of patriotic family, (3) of high morality, (4) able and eloquent, (5) courageous. The "oligarch," he says, is the antipodes to this; and it is needless to say under which head he classes Demosthenes. — 11. ἐκδεδωκώς. *Given out: quasi locavisses faciendum*: cf. p. 522, l. 1. — κατὰ συγγραφὴν. *To be made by contract*. Dissen cites p. 916, καὶ οἶδε μὲν πρὸς σε δύο συγγραφὰς ἐποίησαντο ὑπὲρ τοῦ συμβολαίου. The



συγγραφή was always in writing, the συμβόλαιον might or might not be. — εἶτ...κομιζόμενος, and then had it delivered to you deficient in what it ought to have had under the contract. WHISTON. — 14. γινωσκομένους. Or as if patriots were known by their words, and not by their deeds and measures. ὥσπερ...γινωσκομένους = tanquam noscerentur; on the construction of this acc. absol. see Madvig, *G. S.*, 82. — 15. ῥῆτὰ καὶ ἄρρητα. With promiscuous scurrility. A phrase as common as *dicenda tacenda* in Latin. More exactly rendered by Whiston, *you shout, and call me all sorts of names mentionable and unmentionable.* — ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης. As if you were on the top of a wagon taking part in the riot of the χόες, the second day of the Anthesteria. See *Die. Ant. Dionysia*. Cf. *Aristoph., Ran.*, 416 sq. *Equit.*, 544. *πομπέας*, *sup.*, 11 note. *Billingsgate*, as the Londoners would say. KENNEDY. — 16. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο, sc. ἐνθυμητόν. The same phrase is found p. 43, l. 15; p. 442, l. 7; p. 568, l. 12. So ἐπεὶ κάκεινο, p. 1097, l. 5, etc. — 123. 19. ἔχαιεν. Implies wrongs (really received by the person who brings the accusation, and who is merely seeking for legal redress). — 20. βλασφημίας. Slanders which enemies come to speak of one another as their own spirit dictates (although no wrong has really been inflicted, and there is no claim for redress at law). All the editors quote in illustration the notorious passage from Cicero *pro Cael.*, c. 3: aliud est maledicere, aliud accusare, etc. — 23. οὐχ ὕνα. Not that we might get you together in court (εἰς ταῦτα, sc. δικαστήρια), and then abuse one another with abominations in the way of private scandal, ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων: *ex vita privata*. Dissen, who cites aptly p. 1335, λοιδορουμένους καὶ πλύνοντας αὐτοὺς τὰ πόρρητα. The phrase κακῶς λέγειν is exactly Cicero's maledicere. — 124. 27. πομπεύειν. To blackguard. Cf. *πομπέας* 11. The Greek requires a colloquial equivalent here. — P. 45, l. 1. ἔλαττον, sc. τῶν λοιδοριῶν. ἐνταῦθα is equivalent to ἐπὶ τῆς πομπέας. And yet not even here (sc. in blackguarding) is it right for him to come off with less, sc. than he gave. δίκαιός ἐστιν, personal construction for impersonal. C. 573; Cu. 571; H. 777. — 5. δῆλον ὅτι, C. 717; Cu. 633; H. 868. — οὐ μὲν...οὐ δέ, where...but where, C. 433 c.; H. 590. — 6. ὑπὲρ τοῦτων. Pro civibus Atheniensibus, according to Reiske, who understands ἡδίκουν to have for its object the same τοῦτους. Possibly, however, τοῦτων is neuter and ἡδίκουν absolute: τοῦτων in that case would refer to all the offences which Æschines in his speech had imputed to the orator. The ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν below is in favor of Reiske's view. — 125. 8. ἀθῶος ἅπασι. Scathless on every

ground; that of law, that of time, that of limitation, that of constant previous awards, that of my never having yet been convicted of doing you a single wrong; the protasis goes on to τῆς δόξης, the δ' after τῇ πόλει answering the μέν after ἐγώ, where I, on the one hand, am scathless, ... while the city, on the other, must needs share more or less in the glory of my public acts, there you have met me face to face. To oppose Demosthenes on this ground was to arraign the character and conduct of the people, who had not only adopted his policy but shared in the honor of it. Herein lay the strength of Demosthenes in all this trial. On ἀπήντηκας, see 15 note s. v.; and on προθεσμία see s. v. Dic. Ant. — 9. κεκρίσθαι. Dissen understands this as referring to the prosecutions conducted by Diondas against the psephisms of Aristonicus and Hyperides, by Patrocles against the trierarchic law of Demosthenes, etc., etc. Cf. pp. 302, 628.

126 – 131. HAVING THUS REFUTED HIS ACCUSATIONS ON THE LEGAL AND TECHNICAL POINTS, I PROCEED NOW TO RETALIATE HIS PERSONALITIES. LET ME GIVE A BRIEF SKETCH OF HIS PARENTAGE AND OF HIS BREEDING.

126. 15. εὔσεβής refers, as before, to the oath taken by the Dicasts, 1 ὅπερ (end). — 16. δέδεικται, i. e. I have shown you all distinctly what your verdict should be as regards the charges of illegality brought by my opponent against Ctesiphon. δεικνύναι here, as before, means to exhibit rather than to prove, 4 κἂν μέν. A different interpretation has, however, been suggested, assuming that a burst of applause had followed the preceding sentence, and that the orator is pleased to estimate it as a clear indication of the coming verdict. No doubt it would have been easy for the orator to provide this burst of applause as at 52. But we should certainly in that case have found him taking far greater advantage of it and expressing himself with a more clear construction. — 17. βλασφημίας. This word, according to strict syntax, would follow instead of preceding εἰρημένας. Similar inversions are noticed by Schäfer, p. 323, l. 13; p. 329, l. 29; p. 347, l. 28; p. 361, l. 25, etc. They may be ascribed merely to the taste of rhetorical euphony, the sense remaining unaffected. — 19. τὰναγκαϊότατ'. The barest facts: the minimum sufficient for the absolute exigencies of the situation: just what is absolutely necessary. WHISTON. — 20. καὶ τίνων, and of what parentage. C. 412; Cu. 409. — 21. λόγους τίνας, certain expressions. Æschin., p. 77, οὐ μέμνησθε αὐτοῦ τὰ μιὰ καὶ ἀπίθανα ῥήματα, ἃ πῶς ποθ' ὑμεῖς, ὧ σιδήρεοι ἐκαρτερεῖτε ἀκροώμενοι; κ. τ. λ.

The whole passage in Æschines is well worth perusal. He derides the extravagance of the orator's language in having used such phrases as ἀμπελουργοῦσι τὴν πόλιν—ἀνατετμήκασι τὰ κλήματα τοῦ δήμου—φορμορραφούμεθα, and the like. — διασύρει. *Sup.*, 27, διέσυρε. — αὐτὸς εἰρηκώς, although he has himself said. The participle is circumstantial. — 22. φθέγξασθαι. Here the protasis ends without any apodosis, which, as Hermogenes rightly interprets, is intended to mark indignation. — 127. 23. Αἰακός... Μίνως. Judges in the lower world (see Plato's *Gorgias*, 524), and so models of dignity and integrity. — 24. σπερμολόγος. Schäfer cites Eustathius (*Hom., Od.*, p. 1547, 41) ὁ δὲ κυρίως φασί, σπερμολόγος εἶδός ἐστιν ὀρνέου λωβώμενον τὰ σπέρματα (*Aristoph., Av.*, 232) ἐξ οὗ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ σπερμολόγους ἐκάλουν τοὺς περὶ τὰ ἐμπόρια καὶ ἀγορὰς διατρίβοντας, διὰ τὸ ἀναλέγεσθαι τὰ ἐκ τῶν φορτίων ἀναρρέοντα καὶ διαζῆν. ἐκ τούτων δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐλάγχανον κλήσιν καὶ οἱ οὐδένας λόγον ἄξιον. We may translate *babbler*, i. e. a retailer of second-hand and second-rate information. So in the notorious passage, *Act. Apost.*, xvii. 18. — περίτριμμα. The etymology of this substantive suggests at once its twofold meaning: "something thoroughly rubbed in contact" would suggest either "conversant," "expert," etc., or "trite," "worn out," etc. Aristophanes (*Nub.*, 447) clearly intends περίτριμμα δικῶν as a compliment. The orator here as clearly intends the opposite. In either case we have no English equivalent and are reduced to paraphrase. Whiston translates, *a drudge of the forum*; Kennedy, *a hack of the market*. — ὄλεθρος. *A brute of a secretary or a wretch of a clerk*. Æschines appears to have acted in this capacity to some of the Athenian authorities judging from 261, γραμματεῦεν τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις. The substantive used as an epithet in lieu of the adjective is not uncommon in Attic. — 26. ἐπαχθεῖς, 10, εἰ δὲ πολλῶ (*fin.*). — πορίσασθαι. The verb insinuates that the phrases were *far-fetched*. Schäfer cites p. 938 and p. 1392 for similar usage. We may render, *to imagine such offensive expressions*. — 27. ὦ γῆ, κ. τ. λ. The citation is almost verbatim from the last paragraph in the speech of Æschines, Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὦ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ σύνεσις καὶ παιδείᾳ ἧ διαγιγνώσκωμεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρά... Having been taxed by his opponent with using florid language the orator seizes this obvious opportunity for a retort. — 128. P. 46, l. 4. κάθαρμα. According to the Scholiasts, in time of public pestilence or other national diaster the vilest members of the state were put to a violent death as scapegoats for the whole community. Aristoph., *Plut.*, 454, *Ran.*, 733,

*Eq.*, 1136, etc. From this the word would naturally become a term of extreme abuse: *You scum of creation*.—6. *ἧς τῶν μὲν*. *Of those who have really enjoyed it not a man would use such an expression about himself, but would even blush if any else were to utter it*. Whiston is doubtless right in taking this to refer to the remarks of Æschines, p. 88.—9. *τοῖς δ' ἀπολειφθεῖσιν*. *While to those who, like you, have missed education but affect it, the result is, that whenever they speak they pain their hearers by their brutality, but never appear educated men*. On *ἀναισθησίας*, see 35, *ἀναλγησίας*.—129. 15. *Θησεῖω*. See Smith's *Dict. Geogr.*, Athens. This beautiful and well-preserved temple is now the national museum of Athens.—16. *διδάσκοντι γράμματα*. The school-work of the period consisted in reading, writing, and reciting passages of poetry with explanations. Cf. *Plat.*, *Protag.*, 325 E. In the *F. L.*, p. 419, the father of Æschines is described as himself *διδάσκων γράμματα*, somewhat inconsistent, though not entirely so, with this passage and that below on p. 313.—16. *χοίνικας*. *Leg-irons* (Aristoph., *Plut.*, 276), so called from their resemblance in shape to the standard vessel of dry measure. The Scholiast interprets this as merely an insinuation that Tromes was a worthless slave under perpetual punishment. Disson compares *Plaut.*, *Capt.*, 3. 5. 64 and 75: *crassus compedes*.—*ξύλον*. Here apparently of the wooden collar for the neck. Aristoph., *Nub.*, 592, and *Plaut.*, *Capt.*, 2. 2. 107, are cited by Whiston in illustration. Cf. *Act. Apost.*, xv. 24.—17. *μεθημερινοῖς*. *By daylight*. *Coitus qui sunt in prunis flagitiosi*. DINDORF. *χρῆσθαι μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις est de die in fornice prostare*. REISKE.—18. *κλεισίω*. *Hovel*: according to others, *brothel* here. Bekker reads *κλισίω* and *Σ κλεισεῖω*.—*καλαμίτη*. The *claw* for interpreting this is, no doubt, to be found in the *F. L.*, p. 419, where the father of Æschines is described as keeping school *πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Ἡρώ τοῦ ἱατροῦ*. Ingenious commentators show us how *καλαμίτης*, *the man of splints*, is a natural synonym in a facetious passage for *ἱατρός*. I think, however, they all omit to notice that the orator intends a pun also on the name *Heros* here. He is affecting to invest the early life of Æschines with supernatural influences, and as he alluded to the Theseum just before, so now by way of ridicule he introduces another *hero*. I have, therefore, with Dindorf, retained the small *η*, though I quite agree with those who believe that the allusion is to Heros the physician. So Holmes. In a paper read before the American Philological Association at Easton, in 1873, Prof. Goodwin ex-

plains the τῷ καλαμίτῃ ἥρωϊ as referring to a Scythian physician, named Toxaris, who came to Athens in the time of Solon, died there and was buried in the Cerameicus, and, his spirit a century later having given the Athenians advice whereby a plague was caused to cease, he was deified and worshipped as the "Stranger Physician." His monument bore on it a representation of a Scythian bowman with a strung bow in one hand and a book in the other. Now καλαμίτης can mean *bowman* (or more exactly *arrow-man*) as κάλαμος very often means an arrow of reed. This monument was a relic of antiquity even in the time of Demosthenes, and he naturally refers to it as marking a well-known locality, which, as recent discoveries show, would have been not far from the Theseum. — τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα. Dissen cites from Bekk., *Anecd.*, p. 394, ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ λέγουσιν αἱ μητέρες περὶ τῶν υἱῶν, ὁ καλὸς ἀνδριάς μου. He also sees an allusion to the fact, that Æschines avoided all gesticulation in speaking (*F. L.*, p. 421). The author of the *Vita Æschinisi* describes him as εὐφυνής, "a fine figure of a man." — 19. **τριταγωνιστήν.** A *tip-top actor of third parts*: see *Dict. Ant.*, *Histrio*. — ἐξέθραψε. To be taken in connection with γαμοῖς...χρωμένη, which denotes the left-handed *means* by which she reared up her son, the beautiful statue and tip-top actor of third parts. — 21. **τριηραύλης** has no exact English equivalent, but may be rendered *boatswain* as the nearest. The crew of a trireme rowed to the music of a flute-player who marked the time for them. So Aristophanes mentions αὐλῶν κελυστῶν as a prominent feature of the dock-yard. *Acharn.*, 554. Kennedy translates it *galley-piper*. — 22. **ἀνέστησεν.** Raised her out of this honorable trade. There is a double *entendre* in this sarcasm, depending on the literal meaning of ἀνιστάναι as contrasted with καθῆσθαι, καθέζεσθαι ἐπ' οἰκήματος, which were euphemisms to describe prostitution. — 23. **νῆ τὸν Δία.** Here a simple asseveration, not as above, 117. — 130. 27. οὐδὲ γὰρ...καταράται. For they (sc. the acts of his life, ὧν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν) were not of an every-day sort, but such as the nation execrates. This sentence in Σ precedes the sentence ταῦτα μὲν οὖν...ἄρξομαι, and in that reading the subject of ἦν would be Æschines and the antecedent of οἷς his parents: he was not the son of every-day persons, but, etc. So Schäfer and Jacobs. The arrangement of my text is the same with Dindorf's, and is approved by quite the majority of editors. Indeed the context alone is enough to settle the question. — P. 47, l. 1. ὀψέ, κ. τ. λ. For it is quite lately, — lately do I say? — nay it is yesterday only or the day before

that he has become at once an Athenian and an orator. A good instance of the corrective *μὲν οὖν* (*immo vero*). Æsch., *Eum.*, 38; Eurip., *Hipp.*, 1009; Plat., *Gorg.*, 466. — 3. **δύο συλλαβάς**. Referring only to the change of the name Tromes into Atrometus, of which the former was a fit name for a coward (*τρέμω*) and a slave, while the latter was suggestive of an intrepid freeman. — 5. **Ἐμπουσάν**. As a nickname no doubt. Cf. Aristoph., *Rance*, 289, where the Scholiasts explain that it was the title of a malignant goblin. In the *F. L.*, p. 256, Æschines speaks of his mother's brother as Glaucus, whence it has been fairly inferred that his mother's real name was Glaucis. — 6. **πάντα**. Incessant changing of shape and figure is alleged by the Scholiast as the distinctive quality of the goblin Empusa. The coarse *double entendre* here is sufficiently obvious from what has preceded. — 131. 9. **ἐκ**. *Instead of*: as coming out of one state into the other. The idiom is very common. Soph., *O. T.*, 454, *Antig.*, 1093, etc. — 10. **οὐχ ὅπως**. *Not only not*. The idiom involves an ellipsis of *λέγω*. Fully stated it would mean, "I do not mention your showing gratitude: that would be absurd to expect in your case though it would be merely natural in any one else." Our own idiom "not to speak of" is often similarly used. Analogous are the uses of *μὴ ὅτι* and *οὐχ ὅτι*. For examples see Madv., *G. S.*, 212; C. 717, g; Cu. 622, 4; H. 848, c. — 13. **ἄρα**. *It seems* (i. e. in Æschines' representation): ironical, as in 22. — 15. **πράττων**. In strong antithesis to the *εἴρηκεν* which immediately precedes.

132-134. AS A SPECIMEN OF THE ATROCIOUS CONDUCT OF ÆSCHINES LET US TAKE THE CASE OF ANTIPIO. HE WAS ARRESTED BY ME AS A TRAITOR, BUT NEARLY ESCAPED PENALTY THROUGH THE INTRIGUES OF MY OPPONENT. AND FOR THIS THE AREOPAGUS CANCELLED THE LATTER'S APPOINTMENT AS ADVOCATE OF ATHENS BEFORE THE AMPHICTYONIC COUNCIL, REGARDING HIM AS A TRAITOR.

132 16. **Ἀντιφῶντα**. The case is mentioned by Plutarch (*Vit. Demosth.*, 14) and by Dinarchus (*c. Demosth.*, p. 98, l. 25). The latter deplores Antiphon as a victim. The facts seem to have been as follows. Antiphon had been disfranchised, for some reason not recorded. In revenge he attempted to betray his country to Philip, and conspired with him in a design of burning the Athenian fleet. The date, according to Dissen's calculation, would be shortly after the *διαψήφισις* held in the year 346. Demosthenes denounced Antiphon before the Ecclesia, who, however, acquitted him. Demosthenes then



brought him before the Areopagus, who had the right to take extraordinary cognizance of extreme cases where the safety of the state was involved. They condemned Antiphon; but their sentence (*ἀπόφασις*) would then require to be formally approved by the Boule and Ecclesia. After this Antiphon would be tried once more before the Heliaea. We know that the result was his torture and execution. He appears to have been one of the family of Harmodius according to Dinarchus (*l. c.*), but we know nothing more of his history. He is not to be confounded with Antiphon, one of the ten Attic orators. — *ἀποψηφισθέντα* = struck off the register of voters: see Smith, *Dic. Ant.*, *διαψηφισις*. — 21. *ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ*. Plutarch himself describes this proceeding of Demosthenes as *σφόδρα ἀριστοκρατικόν*. — 22. *ψηφίσματος*. *Warrant*, to be granted by a vote of the Ecclesia. The orator seems to have acted so far illegally that he arrested Antiphon in his own house, although he was not justified in doing so either by official position or sanction of the people. — 133. 24. *Ἀρείον*. Smith, *Dic. Ant.*, Areiopagus. — 25. *οὐ δέοντι*. Another instance of meiosis: *anything but opportunely*. The absence of the article gives additional strength to the phrase, and is the more appropriate for an antithesis to *ἐν δέοντι*. — *ἐπεξήτησε*. *Made further inquiry*: the force of *ἐπὶ* in composition is here strongly marked. — 27. *ἐξήρπαστ' ἄν*. *Such a traitor as this would have been snatched out of your grasp, and having slipped through the clutches of penalty would have been despatched to freedom by this master of imposing eloquence*. — P. 48, l. 2. *στρεβλώσαντες*. The *στρέβλη* seems to have corresponded exactly to the *rack* of our own semi-barbarous ages. A list of modes of torture in which this is included will be found in the notorious passage, Aristoph., *Ran.*, 620 sq. Some discussion has been raised as to how a free Athenian could have been put to the torture at all? There are two obvious answers: (1) Antiphon as *ἀποψηφισθείς* was no longer a free Athenian; (2) The rack was applied, not for his examination under torture, but for this execution under sentence. See Smith, *Dic. Ant.*, sub. *Βάσανος*. — *νῦν* = *as it was*. — 3. *γε* intensifies the bitterness of the taunt: *as you OUGHT to have done to this creature likewise*, sc. so far at least as your duty and his deserts were concerned. — 134. 5. *σύνδικον*. *Advocate*: i. e. they retained him to plead their case before the Amphictyonic Council. His appointment, however, was afterwards cancelled, as we see, by the Areopagus, on suspicion of his sympathies with Macedon, which naturally, on this as on other



occasions, was opposed to the Athenian interests. Hyperides was anti-Macedonian in his politics. — 6. τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ. The question at issue, which had been already long disputed, was whether the Athenians or the Delians were entitled to have the custody of the temple of Apollo at Delos: the date of the case being tried before the Amphictyonic Council was 345. — ἥσπερ. By attraction to ἀγνοίας instead of the dative, which would be the natural construction. There is a various reading ἀφ' ἥσπερ but only in a small minority of the MSS. — 7. προσείλεσθε. This is Wolf's emendation, adopted by Dindorf, in place of προείλεσθε MSS. Schäfer approves it as especially consistent with the καὶ in κάκεινην. Translate, *associated to you that body in addition*, i. e. requested the Areopagus to co-operate in their deliberations with the Boule and the Ecclesia, giving them absolute power over the decision to be formed. Those who read προείλεσθε interpret it εἴλεσθε πρὸς ὑμῶν, i. e. *delegated to act for you*. No other instance can be cited of the verb being thus used, but certainly it is a possible interpretation. — 10. ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ. *Tendering their vote from the altar*, i. e. advancing to vote immediately after having taken an oath with the fullest solemnity. Taylor cites p. 1265, l. 6, πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν ἄγοντες καὶ ἐξορκίζοντες. Cic., *pro Balb.*, 5: ut mos Græcorum est, iurandi causâ ad aras accederet. — 11. οὐδεμία. The extreme solemnity of the occasion has been mentioned as enhancing the effect of this public censure on Æschines. — 135. ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ. Another spurious document according to Droysen and Winiewski, but defended, as usual, by Vömel. The question is not worth discussing. But we may notice as irregular the absence, in each case, of the name of the witness's father; the phrase ὑπὲρ πάντων which appears so redundant and superfluous; and the absence of any details about the voting on which the orator has so strongly insisted in 134. — 14. λέγοντος. Σ has μέλλοντος, which would much improve the sense, an ellipsis of λέγειν being easy: β has μέλλοντος λέγειν and adds αὐτὸν after ἀπήλασεν. I believe, however, that Dindorf's text is the most correct, and we must take λέγοντος as imperfect, *when he was going to speak*.

136. TAKE ANOTHER INSTANCE OF MY OPPONENT'S POLITICAL CONDUCT IN CONTRAST WITH MINE. WHEN PYTHON AT THE CONVENTION WAS VITUPERATING ATHENS, I DENOUNCED AND CRUSHED HIM, ÆSCHINES AIDED AND ABETTED HIM.

18. νεανίου. Æschines was 45 in the year referred to (345).

Clearly there is no allusion here to age but only to character. The same sense of violence or extravagance is constantly found in *νεανιεύεσθαι* and *νεανικόν*, of which the Lexica give abundant examples. We may here render *this gallant fellow* as spoken in irony. *γε* is also ironical. — 19. *ῥτε*. Either just before Chæroneia (Diodor., XVI., 85) or in the year 344 (p. 81, l. 23). The latter view is supported by Winiewski. We know nothing about the facts except from this passage and that in the *De Halonneso* (p. 81, l. c.). That Python was a famous orator is attested by Demosthenes, p. 1469, l. 18, and Æschines, p. 44, l. 35.— P. 49, l. 1. *ἐν αἰσχύνῃ*. *To plunge in disgrace*. The phrase is exceptional, as Schäfer notices. — 3. *θρασυνομένῳ*. *Bravado and bursting full upon you*. Colloquial phraseology. *ῥεῖν* of eloquence is very common. Aristoph., *Eq.*, 527, etc.; Juvenal, X., 128: *torrentem et pleni moderantem frena theatri*. Dissem also cites Hor., 1 *Sat.*, II., 28.

137. ANOTHER INSTANCE. ÆSCHINES WAS CAUGHT CONFERRING WITH THAT NOTORIOUS SPY OF PHILIP'S, ANAXINUS.

11. *Ἀναξίνῳ*. A native of Oreus in Eubœa, who came to Athens in 341 ostensibly to make some purchases for Philip's Queen Olympias (Æschin., p. 85). At this date the Athenians were contemplating the liberation of Eubœa and a despatch of forces to assist the Hellespont. Anaxinus was, rightly or wrongly, denounced and executed as a spy for these proceedings (l. c.). Æschines especially taunts the orator with having caused the death of a man who had been his host in Eubœa. — *κατασκόπῳ*. We have here, of course, a brilliant *petitio principii*. Whether Anaxinus was a spy or not, history has left uncertain. But the argument *noscitur a sociis* falls through in the other event, and therefore the orator promptly assumes that he was. — *ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ*. Another spurious document. The witnesses are mentioned without the address of their several demes. No one of the name of Nicias is found in the list of Archons at or near this year (341). — *ἐπωμόσαντο*, *swore to it before the generals*.

138. I COULD ADD MUCH MORE TO THE SAME EFFECT. BUT YOU NEVER FEEL THESE THINGS AS YOU OUGHT.

18. *οὕτω πως*, *somewhat as follows*. Accordingly the following clause is without a connective as being explanatory. *ὧν* would regularly be acc. = in respect to which, but is in the gen. by attraction. — P. 50, l. 3. *τίθεται*. *Stored, deposited, laid on record*, a financial expression in the first instance, p. 1236 (*fin.*), p. 186, l. 10, etc. *Scored*

*up* is the closest rendering here. — 4. οὐδ' ἦν...ὀργήν, *nor for proper resentment*, acc. after *eis*. — δεδώκατε. *You have, through a vile custom, given vast license to any one who wishes to trip and slander him who speaks for any of your interests.* In ὑποσκελίζειν we have another wrestling metaphor. — 8. ἀνταλλαττόμενοι. *Bartering for.* The sentiment has been already illustrated in 3, note ἕτερον δέ. — 11. τάξιν. Cf. 13. τάξει, note.

139. BEFORE THE DECLARATION OF WAR ÆSCHINES DID HIS BEST TO HELP PHILIP; AND AFTER THE WAR BEGAN HE NEVER PROPOSED A SINGLE MEASURE FOR THE GOOD OF ATHENS.

12. μὲν δὴ. The sense of these two particles combined is usually to dismiss a consideration; cf. the notorious phrase τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ ταῦτα. The δὴ in itself implies so strong an assertion of the protasis that no further question can possibly be raised about that, whatever may be said about something else. The μὲν paves the way for the introduction of that something else, if necessary, in the apodosis. But no apodosis is absolutely required. For examples see *Soph., El.*, 103; *Platon., Polit.*, 287, *Prot.*, 315. — 16. τὰ πλοῖα. *Sup.*, 73, καὶ μὴν. — Χερρόνησος. *Sup.*, 92, Χερρονησιτῶν. — 17. Ἀπτικήν. The reference is here to the seizure of Elatea in 339 (the autumn) when Philip was appointed by the Amphictyonic Council to command the forces attacking Locris. The excitement caused at Athens by this seizure of Elatea we read 169 sq. — 18. ἐνειστήκει. 89, ἐνστάς, note. — 20. ἱαμβιοφάγος. The Scholiasts interpret this φιλολοῖδος, and so we find in the *Etym. M.*, s. v. Ἰαμβοφάγος, the Iambic verse being the distinctive metre of lampoon: Ἰαμβίζεν γὰρ τὸ σκώπτειν ἐστίν. But surely we must also understand an allusion here to that already threadbare topic, the histrionic profession of Æschines. Of course the *double entendre* cannot be preserved by any English. Whiston's rendering, *mouther of iambics*, is as good as any. — 22. δειξάτω, i. e. I will sacrifice part of the time allowed me for speaking, to give him the opportunity, if he can take it, forsooth. — 23. ὕδατι. ἐγχεῖται γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὕδωρ τῷ κατηγορῶ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ὕδωρ τῷ τὴν γραφὴν φεύγοντι καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα λέγουσιν. *Æsch.*, 82. A description of the clepsydra, by which the time allowed to each speaker was measured, is given in Smith's *Die. Ant.* Whiston alludes, in this connection, to the joke at the sobriety of Demosthenes, viz., that other men *spoke* by water, he *composed* by it. — 24. θάτερον. An obvious ellipsis of ποιῆσαι, or, better, αἰρεῖσθαι.

The construction is very common: p. 113, l. 10. Platon., *Charm.*, 160 c. With an impersonal subject the ellipsis would be of γενέσθαι. — ἢ μηδὲν κ. τ. λ. *That either he proposed no measures conflicting with mine because he could find no fault in what I was then doing, or else that he did not bring forward better measures than mine because he was studying the interest of the enemy.* The participial sentences are causal. Madvig, *G. S.*, 174, b; C. 674; Cu. 581; G. 277, 2; H. 789; the force of παρὰ is here decidedly *against*: not simply *beside* but *beside, with the object of contesting and obstructing.* — 27. φέρειν εἰς μέσον (*proferre in medium*), as usual, is merely the technical phrase for publication.

140, 141. IF HE FRAMED NO POLICY, DID HE AT ANY RATE HOLD HIS TONGUE WHEN MISCHIEF WAS IN THE WIND? NAY, HE MONOPOLIZED THE BEMA. REMEMBER THAT MONSTROUS CASE OF THE AMPHISSIAN LOCRIANS. I MOST SOLEMNLY SWEAR TO TELL YOU THE WHOLE TRUTH ABOUT IT.

140. P. 51, l. 1. Ἄρ' οὖν. *Did he then make no speeches either (as he certainly moved no measures) when it was needful to do some mischief?* The point is this: no single psephism of Æschines' proposing can be found in the records of the war period (139); but he made plenty of speeches, — and he always spoke with a mischievous intent. Reiske and Schäfer are both anxious to limit the clause ὥσπερ — ἔγραφεν by understanding either τότε or ἡνίκα ἐργάσασθαι τι ἔδει καλόν. But they thus ignore the obvious antithesis of ἔγραφεν to ἔλεγεν. He moved nothing, but he said plenty; and all that he said was bad. — 2. οὐ μὲν οὖν. *Nay, no one else had a chance of speaking, i. e. he let no one else get a hearing.* — 3. τὰ μὲν ἄλλα. *Other things the state could bear, as it seems, and this man could do without detection.* C. 677, f; Cu. 590; G. 279, 2; H. 801. — 6. τέλος, *finishing stroke.* — 8. δόγματα, i. e. the decrees passed by the Amphictyonic Council respecting these Locrians of Amphiassa. Schäfer compares Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα, "the vote concerning the Megarians": Thucyd., I., 140. — 8. τό has here its original force of a distinctive pronoun. See Donaldson, *New Cratylus*, 148, and note ἀς μὲν, 71 *sup.* — 9. ἐκνίψει. *Wash out, strictly of the hands.* The middle voice here denotes action on self. On the metaphor, which is frequent and familiar, particularly in dramatic literature, ancient and modern, cf. Eur., *I. T.*, 1223, ὡς φόνον φόνον μύσαρον ἐκνίψω. — 10. οὐχ οὔτω. *You will not talk enough for THAT, however prominent and prolix you may show yourself as a speaker.* The emphasis falls on οὔτω. — 141. 11. Καλῶ. This passage may

well be compared with the exordium. He justifies the solemnity of the language in the next paragraph. — 13. **πατρῷος**. *Father-god*, and hence tutelary divinity. Apollo, according to Athenian mythology, was the father of Ion by Creusa, daughter of Eretheus, king of Athens, and wife of Xuthus. Ion succeeded to the throne. (Eurip., *Ion*, 1574, etc.) Hence the Athenians had **πατρῶαι θυσιαί** at Delphi. All the Ionian states seem to have worshipped the Pythian Apollo as their **θεὸς πατρῷος**. See Müller, *Dor.*, I., p. 244. — 15. **εἴποιμι καὶ ἂπον**, *if I shall speak the truth and did speak it then immediately*.

142–144. WHY HAVE I MADE THESE SOLEMN ASSEVERATIONS? BECAUSE, WHATEVER STRONG PROOF I ADDUCE, YOU WILL HARDLY BELIEVE ÆSCHINES HAD THE POWER TO DO SUCH MISCHIEF. JUST WHAT HAPPENED IN THE PHOCIAN CASE. I WARNED THE ECCLESIA AND THEY WOULD NOT BELIEVE ME.

142. 23. **ἔχων**. Concessive: and so **εἰδώς** which follows. Madvig's *G. S.*, 174 b; C. 674, f; Cu. 582; G. 277, 5; H. 789, f. — **δημοσίῳ**. *The Archives*: the word describes any public building: its character is settled here by the context. Herod., VI., 52, 57. — 26. **ἐλάττων**. Minor quam ut conficeret: *incapable of*, literally *less than the mischief*, i. e. unequal to such a magnitude of mischief. Cf. the analogous use of **μείζους** in the *F. L.*, p. 350 (*init.*). — P. 52, l. 1. **Φωκέας**, 18, and *Introduction* II. — 143. 2. **Ἀμφίσση**. This city belonged to the Locri Ozolæ and stood on the Phocian frontier. Ingenious Scholiasts have noticed that the words **τὸν γὰρ... Ἐλάτειαν** make a hexameter. — 3. **Ἐλάτειαν**. Metropolis of Phocis on the frontier of Epicnemidian Locris. — 6. **εἰς ἀνὴρ**. *Was the author in his single self of the greatest disasters*. The common use of **εἰς** as an intensive in connection with a superlative. Cf. Soph., *Trach.*, 459, οὐχὶ χἀτέρας | πλείστας ἀνὴρ εἰς Ἡρακλῆς ἐγήμε δῆ; — 6. **τότ'**, i. e. when Æschines had just come back from acting as deputy at the Amphictyonic Council, who had declared war on the Amphißians at his instigation. We must compare throughout Æschines' own account of this (p. 71 sq.). — 9. **ἐκ παρακλήσεως**. Dissen aptly remarks that the name **παρακλήτοι** was given to the party of friends who would rally round an accused person, or a person in any critical position, the Latin *advocati*. Cf. the use of the word in the New Testament, rendered in the common version sometimes Advocate, and sometimes Comforter. We may paraphrase here: *his clique who were seated by him*. — 10. **οἱ δέ**=the rest. — 144. 15. **ἐκωλύθητε**. But ac-

cording to Æschines (*l. c.*), Demosthenes *did* impress his views on the meeting, and it was owing to him that the Athenians dissented from the Amphictyonic policy instead of joining the attack upon the Amphissians. — 15. εὖ...συντεθέν. εὖ passim seiungitur a voce ad quam pertinet. See Heind. at Platon., *Charmid.*, p. 111 (Schäfer). — 17. δεινότης. *Craft*: calliditas (Schäfer).

145-159. FOR PHILIP'S PLANS IT WAS INDISPENSABLE TO CREATE HOSTILITIES AGAINST US ON THE PART OF THEBES AND THESSALY. HENCE HIS INTRIGUE IN THE AMPHICTYONIC COUNCIL, WHICH LED TO THE SACRED WAR, AND FOR WHICH HE EMPLOYED ÆSCHINES AS AN INSTRUMENT. THE ACCOUNT ÆSCHINES GAVE YOU IS FALSE. THE ATTACK ON THE LOCRIANS WAS UNPROVOKED. PHILIP'S APPOINTMENT AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF WAS ACHIEVED BY THE MEAN PARSIMONY OF THE AMPHICTYONS WHO WISHED TO ESCAPE THE EXPENSES OF THE WAR. DIRECTLY HE WAS APPOINTED HE DROPPED THE LOCRIAN BUSINESS AND SEIZED ELATEA. LISTEN TO THE DOCUMENTS WHICH PROVE WHAT I SAY. FOR ALL OUR SUFFERINGS ÆSCHINES, AS A TOOL OF PHILIP, IS DISTINCTLY RESPONSIBLE AND TO BLAME.

145. 24. ληστῶν. *Guerillas*. The orator wishes to deny the regular army any share in such successes as were won (146). The chief damage done to Macedon, he alleges, was the interference with their commerce by these irregular marauders. — 25. ἐκ τῆς χώρας. By constructio prægnans for οὔτε γὰρ ἐξήγετο τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γιγνομένων ἐκ τῆς χώρας οὐδέν. C. 704; H. 680. — 146. P. 53, l. 1. μήτε διέντων. *If they did not allow him a passage* through their territory. The negative (μή) has its usual force with a participle, of introducing a conditional clause. — 2. κρατοῦντι. Concessive: cf. 142. κρατεῖν with the accusative = *to conquer*: with the genitive = *to conquer and hold*. The accusative is that of relation, not of the direct object. Madv., 31; C. 480, b; Cu. 400, c; G. 159; H. 544, a. *Though victorious in war over the generals you were in the habit of sending out, of whatsoever sort they were (for I pass this), it was his fortune to suffer losses from the very nature of the locality and the circumstances of each party.* — 4. φύσει τοῦ τόπου. Dis-sen compares *Philipp.*, I. 48 (p. 93), τόπον τῆς χώρας. He could not attack them by land because Thebes and Thessaly obstructed his approach; and he could not attack them by sea because their navy was superior. — ὑπαρχόντων ἐκατέροις. Macedon was strong in land forces, Athens in maritime: but the land forces were useless, as has been



just explained : so that Athens had the advantage in point of armament in the aggregate. — 147. 6. **συμπεῖθαι**. *Induce to join him*. Hence the element *συμ-* is introduced. There is a mixture of moods in this conditional construction which may thus be preserved in English : *His idea was that, were he to try and induce either Thebes or Thes-saly to join him in attacking you, no one would listen to him ; but supposing him elected commander as having taken up their common grievances, then his expectation was that he would, with comparative ease, deceive them partly and partly persuade them*. The imperfect optative *συμπεῖθαι* introduces the more improbable alternative (*si persuaderet*), the aorist subjunctive *αἰρεθῇ* states the very condition which was actually fulfilled afterwards (*si electus fuerit*) : the imperfects *ἡγείτο*, *ἡλπίζε* suggest the duration and deliberate character of Philip's plans. — 11. **Ἀμφικτύοσι**. *For the Amphictyons*. Dativus commodi precisely. — 12. **ταραχὴν**. *A disturbance at the Pylea*. The meeting of the Council was called *Πυλατα* from the place of meeting, Thermopylae ; so also the members were called *Πυλαγόραι*. See Dic. Ant., Amphictyons. *περὶ* here is of time and place both. — 12. **εἰς ταῦτ'**. *For thereupon he thought they would immediately address him with entreaties*, i. e. to co-operate with them in the quarrel. — 148. 14. **παρ' ἑαυτοῦ**. Philip obtained this privilege as part of his victory in the Phocian war. — **ἱερομνημόνων**. *Religion-commissioners*. An office apparently for life, at any rate superior to that of the *Pylagoræ*. See Smith, Dic. Ant., for a full discussion of the point. — 15. **ἐκείνου**. Philip : change of pronoun to avoid repeating *ἑαυτοῦ*. Schäfer recites exactly the same construction from Xen., *Hell.*, I. vi. 14. — **εἰσηγοῖτο**. *Were to introduce this matter*. The optative here of the condition which did not happen, the subjunctive *ῆ* of the condition which did. See 147, **συμπεῖθαι**. — 18. **ὑπεναντίων**. *His* (sc. Philip's) *adversaries*. The element *ὑπ-* modifies the force of the adjective a little : there was no open war between Athens and Macedon just at this period. Still *ὑπεναντίος* and *ἐναντίος*, according to the Lexica, are used almost synonymously. — 19. **λήσειν**. *He* (Philip) *would evade suspicion*. The subject of *λήσειν* to be taken from *ἐνόμιζε* which precedes. — 149. 22. **προβληθείς**. *Was proposed as Pylagoras, and three or four hands having been held up, was declared to be duly elected* : that the whole thing was a job, or an oversight, is what the orator wishes to imply. — 25. **λαβών**. *With all the prestige of the city about him*. Like *ἔχων*, *φέρων*, *ἀγων*, so *λαβών* is frequently thus used in lieu of a preposition. As



the elected representative, Æschines would of course possess all the influence of Athens to his hearers in the Council. — 26. ἐπέραινεν, imp. to denote the beginning of a process = *set about accomplishing*: πείθει below, histor. pres. — ἐφ' οἷς. *The ends for which*. ἐπὶ here of the basis in connection with which the contract was made. See also 16, ἐπ' ἀληθείας, note. — 27. λόγους καὶ μύθους, *facts and fables*. — ἀπείρους λόγιον, *were unused to speeches*, the hieromnemons. This might well be as they were appointed by lot. WHISTON. — P. 54, l. 1. ὅθεν. *As to how*: the matter being old in history has to be traced from its origin: hence ὅθεν rather than ὅπως. — Κίρραϊα. *The tract of Cirrha*: a frequent resort of pilgrims to Delphi. According to Æschines, the Cirrhæans grossly overcharged and plundered these sojourners. Hence the first Sacred War (B. C. 595) was undertaken by the Amphictyons to punish them. Their city, which stood on the Sinus Corinthiacus, close to Delphi, was captured and destroyed in 585, and the ground on which it had stood was consecrated to Apollo. This no doubt is historical fact (Æschin., pp. 68, 69), though it suits the orator here to speak of it as a myth. — 150. 4. περιελθεῖν, *to make a survey*, with the object of inspecting, to see if the sacred ground was being encroached upon. — 5. οὔσαν. *As being their own*. The participle constitutes here a causal sentence. Madv., *G. S.*, 174 (*quippe quum sua ipsorum esset*). — 6. χώρας. *A portion of the sacred tract*. Genitive strictly partitive. — δίκην. According to Æschines (*l. c.*) the Locrian representatives had moved in the Council that a fine of fifty talents be imposed on Athens for dedicating sundry golden shields, in the new Temple of Apollo, inscribed “taken by the Athenians from the Persians and Thebans when fighting against the Greeks.” Besides the offensive inscription, there was a further transgression in the shields having been dedicated before the new Temple was fully consecrated. There is no reason to doubt that the Locrians did move this resolution to have the Athenians fined; true, it was not a case of δίκην ἐπάγειν, but Æschines had never said it was; he had only described them as δόγμα εἰσφέροντας. All that Demosthenes could fairly have urged in reply would have been that this Locrian resolution was not worth being noticed by the representative of Athens; or, at any rate, that Æschines, if he did notice it at all, ought to have noticed it in a different way. In this part of the speech the orator's argument is decidedly weak, not to say evasive. — 7. ἐπαγόντων, *circumstantial part*: *although the Locrians were bringing no suit against us, nor charging*

what this man now pretends, saying what was not true. Æschines (*l. c.*) had represented that his charge of sacrilege against the Locrians (alleging that they had desecrated this hallowed Cirrhæan territory) was provoked entirely as a countercharge in answer to their charge of sacrilege against Athens. The orator tries to prove that they had not really made such a charge. — 10. **τελέσασθαι**. To accomplish a prosecution of our state without serving a summons. *τελέσασθαι* is a little unusual in connection with *δίκεν*, but distinguishes the actual bringing of an action into court from the mere threatening to bring one, which is all the orator admits the Locrians to have done. The summons, of course, would be before the court of the Amphictyonic Council. — **δήπου** = surely, or of course. — **ἐκλήτευσεν**. Name the man who served the citation. On *πρόσκλησις* see Smith, *Dic. Ant.*, Dike, and Cleteres. — 11. **ἐπὶ ποίας ἀρχῆς**. Literally, in what Archonship? i. e. name the year. — **τὸν εἰδότα**. Tell us the man who knows of it, i. e. adduce confirmatory evidence. All this, though strong in rhetoric, is somewhat absurd in logic, as no one had ever alleged that the trial had taken place at all. — 13. **κατεχρῶ**. The element *κατ-* here of abusing rather than of using to the full. But both senses are implied. — 151. 14. **ὑφήγησιν**. Direction. The word has an interesting technical use in Platon., *Protag.*, 326, D, ἀναγκάζουσι γράφειν κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τῶν γραμμῶν. Some understand that the writing-master traced the letters faintly in pencil, and that the pupil followed the lines so traced. Others understand that the lines were merely ruled to keep the writing straight. See Heind. *l. c.* — 15. **μικροῦ**. Genitive of separation: within a little, almost. See *ὀλίγου δεῖν*, note **τί οὖν**, 20. C. 665; H. 575, a. — **κατηκόντισαν**. Shot down. διεξῆλθε διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου φήμη ὡς κατακοντιεῖ σφέας. Her., IX., 17. — 19. **Κότυφος**. Κόττυφον τὸν Φαρσάλιον τὸν πότε τὰς γνώμας ἐπιψηφίζοντα ("a native of Pharsalia and president of the Amphictyons," Æschin., p. 71 *fin.*). We know nothing more about him. — 21. **οὐδέν**. Æschines gives a very different account, pp. 71, 72: καὶ παρελθόντες τῇ πρώτῃ στρατείᾳ καὶ μάλα μετρίως ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσιν, ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων χρήμασιν αὐτοῦς ἐξήμιωσαν...ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὔτε τὰ χρήματα ἐξέτινον τῷ θεῷ τοὺς τ' ἐναγεῖς κατήγαγον, οὕτως ἤδη τὴν δευτέραν στρατείαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐποίησαντο: that is, that the Amphictyonic troops invaded the territory of the Amphissians and compelled them to submit to certain conditions, which, however, they did not fulfil, so that it was necessary to make a second expedition

against them. It is, however, quite possible, as Whiston observes, that both accounts were true in the main. We have to allow for each of the two orators regarding the matter from such a different standpoint. — **ἐπιούσαν.** *The next*, i. e. the autumn meeting of the Amphictyons. See below, ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΟΓΜΑ. — **εἰς** = *for* or *by*. — 22. **ἦγον.** *Were for handing the war over to Philip.* We understand πόλεμον as the object of ἦγον, which Reiske renders *ablegabant*, and Bremi *mandare studuerunt*. Cf. p. 125, l. 20. — 152. 25. **εἰσφέρειν.** *They must either themselves subscribe*, i. e. to provide funds for raising an army. The εἰσφορά was an extraordinary war tax. See Dic. Ant., sub v. — **ξένους.** *Enlist foreigners*, i. e. as mercenary troops. — 26. **ζημιούν,** i. e. to enforce the payment of the subscription. — 27. **ἐκείνον,** i. e. Philip, if elected general, would bear the whole expense of the war. — P. 55, l. 1. **ἐκ τούτων,** *from these considerations.* — **εὐθέως.** The capture of Elatea was in the winter of 339; we do not know the exact date, but at any rate within three months of the autumn Pylæa referred to. — 3. **ἐρρώσθαι.** *Having bid a long adieu*, i. e. having dismissed from his consideration. ἐγὼ δὲ τούτοις μὲν ἐρρώσθαι λέγω, p. 62, l. 19. The phrase is common in this sarcastic usage. — 153. 8. **τό γ' ἐξαίφνης.** *At all events for the moment*, sc. though not ultimately. — **μάλιστα μὲν...εἶτα μέντοι.** *Chiefly, it is true...but in a secondary degree.* I have already noticed μέντοι as an adversative, 12; no adversative was necessary here, as εἶτα is itself antithetic. See note on ἔπειτα, l. — 11. **χρόνους.** We are at a loss to understand in what form these *dates* were preserved on record; certainly it could not have been as they appear in the spurious document below. We should have expected the reading of successive ψηφίσματα passed at the period in question, with the dates of the day and month attached, and distinct reference to the several events; or else of the particular ψήφισμα describing the appointment of Æschines as Pylagoras. Cf. 155, end. — 154. **ΔΟΓΜΑ.** The contents of both these Dogmas stamp them as forgeries. They merely embody the statements of Demosthenes, and quite ignore the conflicting statements of Æschines (p. 71 sq.). Of course the indefatigable Böhnecke and Vömel defend both as genuine. But the elaborate criticisms of Droysen and others effectually demolish their validity. The curious will refer to Dindorf's Demosthenes, Vol. V., p. 406, for a *resumé* of the discussion. — **ιερέως.** Supposed to be an Arch-Hieromnemon corresponding to the Archon Eponymus. — **ἐαρινῆς.** Both decrees are dated in the spring, which

directly contradicts τὴν ἐπιούσαν, 151. Reiske corrected ἐαρινῆς into ὁπωρινῆς in the Second Decree, which the ungrateful Böhncke is pleased to style *coniectura infelicissima*. — **πυλαγόροις** is the older form. See Lex. — **συνέδροις**. We know of no such office in connection with the Amphictyonic Council, but of course it may have existed. — 155. **τῷ κοινῷ**. Some critics object to this as an unusual term for the *general body*, but it is a most common expression in Attic. Thuc., IV., 78, etc., etc. — **κατανειμάμενοι**. *Having divided among themselves*: the active κατανέμω, in the first dogma, is used less correctly, *treat as pasture for flocks*; νέμωσι immediately below is quite classical, *they send to pasture*. — **Ἀρκάδα**. Æschines calls him a Pharsalian: 151, **Κόττυφος**. — **ἀξιοῦν ἵνα**. The infinitive after ἀξιοῦν is the natural and usual construction; ἵνα with the subjunctive is wholly unclassical in prose. — **διότι** = *that*. Classical usage would require ὅτι preceded probably by ἀγγέλλειν, unless we are to understand the latter from πρεσβεῦσαι. — **ΧΡΟΝΟΙ**. The most meaningless of all the forgeries; it specifies a date minutely, but omits to mention what happened upon it. — **Μνησιθείδης**. Æschines says he was appointed πυλαγόρας ἐπὶ Θεοφράστου ἀρχοντος, p. 69 (*fin.*). According to the Fasti, the Archon Eponymus of 339 to 338 was Lysimachidas. At any rate it was not Mnesithides (*qui neque archon unquam neque opinor scriba prytanie, aut prætor fuit*. DROUSEN.) — 156. 3. **ὥς οὐχ ὑπήκουον**. *When they refused to comply*, as already stated, 153. — 5. **συμμάχους**. Ἀρκάδας, Ἀργείους, Μεσσηνίους, Ἡλείους. SCHOL. — 6. **ἀληθὴ πρόφασιν**. This use of πρόφασιν for the *true reason* is rare and scarcely recognized in the lexicons. It is often opposed to ἀληθές (πρόφασιν μὲν... τὸ ἀληθές δέ), and is used just below to denote the *pretexts* alleged by Philip and presented by Æschines. — **κοινά**. *The universal interests as specified by the Amphictyonic decree*. The καὶ has here an intensive force, not a copulative; 3, first note. — 157. **ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ**. This document is not so obviously a forgery as most of those which have preceded. The points of suspicion will be noticed as they occur. — **δημιουργοῖς**. So Thucyd., V., 47, οἱ δημιουργοὶ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ, where the historian is speaking of Mantinea and of Elis. As a designation of *chief magistrate* it very likely existed in other Peloponnesian constitutions also. Compare our *public servants*. — P. 57. **ὥστε συναντᾶτε**. *And so assemble*, etc. This use of ὥστε with the imperative is rare, though not without example both in prose and poetry. — **λῶον**. It is pretty fairly established that the Macedonian month Lous was not identical

with the Athenian month Boedromion (Clinton's *Fasti*, II., 358), but with Hecatombæon. Panemus, which was a Bœotian and Corinthian as well as a Macedonian word, corresponded to the Athenian month Metageitnion (Böckh., *Inscript.*, I., 732). No genuine document would contain such a blunder as this. — τοῖς δὲ συμβούλοις. These words and the two which follow Dindorf places in brackets, and Schäfer wishes to erase. The text is hopelessly corrupt, and it seems useless to suggest emendations. Omitting these words the meaning is: *Those who do not assemble with all their force we shall treat as subject to the usual penalties*, i. e. as enemies. — πανδημί = πανστρατιᾷ. — 158. 5. μὴ... περιόντες. *Do not then go about and say*: a favorite combination: περιόντ' αὐτὸν πυνθάνεσθαι τίσι πώποτε συμβέβηκεν ὕβρισθῆναι. p. 525 (end). — 6. ὑφ' ἐνός, sc. τοῦ Φιλίππου. — 159. 9. μηδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα. *Without reserve*: i. e. dismissing all delicacy and respect for the hearers. — 12. τόπων. Tracts of territory either with or without buildings and inhabitants: πόλεων, distinctively of the inhabited. Whiston makes τόπων = χωρίων, *places*, i. e. *forts*, and compares Virg., *Æn.* II., 573: Trojæ et patriæ communis Erinny's. — 13. παρασχών = *furnished*. — 14. ἀποστράφητε. The passive ἀποστρέφεσθαι is constantly thus constructed with the accusative, without any preposition to connect them. The same remark applies to all verbs of motion. Madvig, *G. S.*, 21, r. 2; C. 472, f; Cu. 398; H. 544, a. Render: *and how it is that you did not turn away from him as soon as ever you saw him, I wonder*. — 15. σκότος. The neuter gender of this word is specially affected by Demosthenes (p. 411, l. 25, etc.), but is rare in Attic authors generally. — 16. πρό. *Between you and the truth*, lit. *abiding with you before the truth*.

160 – 167. IN DENOUNCING THE POLITICAL CAREER OF ÆSCHINES, I HAVE NOW COME TO SPEAK OF MY OWN CAREER AT THE TIME. DISCERNING PHILIP'S OBJECTS, I RESISTED THEM TO THE UTMOST; NOT THAT MY POLICY WAS ORIGINAL; I ONLY FOLLOWED BETTER MEN, WHOM YOU, ÆSCHINES, CRINGED TO LIVING, THOUGH YOU REVILE THEM DEAD. I REPEAT, IT WAS YOU AND YOUR ACCOMPLICES WHO BY THAT POLICY BROUGHT US NEAR TO RUIN.

160. P. 58, l. 3. εἰ ἐγὼ μέν. *If, after I sustained on my part the doing of the labor for your sakes, yet you on your part will not have patience to hear the words which describe them*. The common antithesis of ἔργον and λόγος = *realities* and *reports*. αὐτῶν is objective gen. — 161. 5. ὁρῶν γὰρ ἐγώ. *For seeing that the Thebans and, to some extent, you*

also, under the influence of the partisans of Philip and those who were bribed in either state, were overlooking and in no single point guarding against what was dangerous and required much watching, viz., suffering the growth of Philip. ἐκατέροις each of the two (Athens and Thebes) separately, opposed, as Disсен observes, to ἀμφοτέροις, both collectively. — 14. Ἀριστοφῶντα, 70, and Εὐβουλον also. — 162. 15. πράξαι. To achieve this friendship, i. e. between Athens and Thebes. The ἀντιλέγοντας which follows is concessive, cf. 142, εἰδώς; 146, κρατοῦντι. — 18. κίναδος, cf. κύρβις, κρόταλον, κίναδος, τρύμη, Aristoph., *Nub.*, 448. — οὓς. This accusative is governed by κολακεύων, but, by an easy Zeugma, suggests the dative which παρηκολούθεις requires. Æschines is said to have been secretary to Aristophon. — 19. οὐκ αἰσθάνει. You fail to perceive, i. e. your stupidity prevents you from perceiving, that you denounce them, now they are dead. But the old reading αἰσχύνει gave a better sense: you do not blush to denounce them, now they are dead, the imputation of ἀναισθησία is so inconsistent with the epithet κίναδος. However Σ has αἰσθάνει and all the editors seem to have adopted the correction. — 22. δοκιμασάντων. Examined and approved, sanctioned. — 163. ἐκέισε, i. e. to his statements, 147–153. — 23. τούτου μὲν κ. τ. λ. It was through his having caused the war at Amphissa and the rest of his accomplices having developed our hostility with Thebes, that Philip contrived to come down upon us. — 26. οὐπὲρ ..συνέκρουον, the very purpose for which these men were embroiling the states, lit. knocking them together, cf. 19, and note there. — 27. προξάνεστημεν. Had we not uprisen a little before him, we should never have been able to retrieve our position; to such lengths did these creatures promote the ill-feeling. — P. 59, l. 1. μέχρι is common with an adverb of time or place, as here. So with δεῦρο, ἐνταῦθα, ὅποι, τότε, τὰ νῦν. — 164. ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. The contents of this and the three following documents are sufficient to stamp them as forgeries. The orator introduces them by saying that they will show the state of feeling existing between Athens and Thebes at the time. Now the first psephisma says nothing about Thebes, and the second next to nothing. Both of them are confined to an account of the state of affairs between Athens and Macedon. The same remark applies to the first apocrisis, and the second refers only to Thebes in its relation to Macedon. After the documents have been read, the orator describes them (168) as of a nature to exasperate Thebes against Athens, and encourage Philip to attack Elatea. Nothing in the documents justifies this description. Some other



indications of spuriousness will be noticed in their place. — Ἑροπί-  
 θου. No such person was Archon in the year 339 or 338. But Ela-  
 tea was captured in the winter of 339, or at latest at the beginning  
 of 338. — βουλῆς...γνώμη, cf. psephisma, 37, and note there. — ἄς  
 μὲν, 71, note s. v. — κεφαλαίω. *In fine.* τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον 213  
 (*inf.*). — ἐπιβάλλεται. This use is quite classical: *throws himself upon*,  
 i. e. *desires, purposes*. — εἰρήνην. But the peace of 346 had been  
 regularly broken in 340 (89, ἐνστάς), and if any subsequent peace  
 had been made, the orator or Æschines would surely have mentioned  
 it. — δεδόχθαι. Cf. 29, note. — εἰ δὲ μή. *But, failing that* (the con-  
 stant formula of apodosis to μάλιστα μὲν, *above all*), i. e. as the most  
 desirable alternative if it can only be achieved: in the simplest para-  
 phrase = *if possible...but at any rate*. On the construction of εἰ δὲ μή  
 see Madvig's *G. S.*, 194, b; C. 717; H. 754, b. — ἀνοχάς. *Inducias*.  
 The usual Attic form is ἀνοκωχή. — θαρρηλιῶνος. The next month  
 but one to Elaphebolion, Munychion intervening. See CALENDAR  
 in Smith's *Dic. Ant.* — 165. πολεμάρχου γνώμη. There is no au-  
 thority for supposing that the Archon Polemarch had any distinctive  
 voice or power on these occasions. Droysen notices this as one of  
 the marks of forgery in the document. — κήρυκα. It is highly im-  
 probable that the herald would be mentioned in any psephisma. Schäfer  
 suggests, as a reason, *quo plus Philippo offerretur religionis*.  
 But a herald would be attached to such a party as a matter of course,  
 and would need no official mention. — ἐνδεχομένως. Post-classical:  
 appears in Polybius: “pro ratione temporum, i. q. ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων.”  
 REISKE. — P. 60. μετρίων, i. e. under any *reasonable condition, toler-*  
*able position*. — 166. χαίρειν. *Greeting*. Cf. 39, note. — αἵρεσιν.  
 Instead of the more usual προαἵρεσιν. So Plato, *Phædr.*, 256 c. —  
 σπουδῇ. *Effort*. — μή. Classical Greek would require οὐ, as the  
 sentence is causal, not conditional. — ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς. *Reversing the*  
*procedure*, i. e. doing the opposite of what the Thessalians, etc., have  
 done. The phrase is quite classical, though somewhat too poetical  
 for its surroundings here. — πεπλημμελημένοι. This use of the pas-  
 sive πλημμελεῖσθαι as meaning *to be injured* is quite classical, though  
 rare. — πλημμελούμενος δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἐν δίκῃ λοιδορηθεῖς. Platon., *Phædr.*,  
 275 (end). — συγκατατίθεμαι, sc. τὴν αὐτὴν δόξαν. And so Plato  
 writes it in full, *Gorgias*, 501, c. *I concur with*. — παραπέψαντες.  
*Having dismissed*. Post-classical; the usual sense being *to convey* or  
*to escort*. — 167. ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ. Even if this were genuine, it would



be of little value without the Theban resolution which it professes to answer. — **διότι.** *Sup.*, 155. — **προσφέρονται.** *Proffer*: post-classical in this sense: the verb usually meaning *to take* (food or medicine). — **συγκαταίνους.** *Abettors*: a post-classical word. — **κατεγίγνωσκον.** *I was disposed to blame you on the prospect of your being persuaded.* A harsh construction where we should rather expect *ὡς μελλόντων*. — P. 61. **οἶσιν ῥοπήν.** *Bring you no small advantage.* *ῥοπή* as *the critical turn of the scale* is quite classical, and as common in prose as in poetry. However, exception has been taken to the phrase as it stands here by Whiston and others. It is perhaps unsuitable to a purely formal document. — **προθέσεως.** *Purpose*: not used in this sense by the Attic writers, but found in Aristotle, Polybius, etc.

168. IN BRIEF THIS WAS HOW PHILIP BROKE UP OUR UNION AND WON THE DAY. REMEMBER OUR EXCITEMENT AT THE TIME OF ELATEA'S CAPTURE.

4. **Ἐλάτειαν.** Cf. note 143. It was 78 miles from Athens, and commanded the approach towards that city. — **οὐδ' ἂν εἴ.** This *ἂν* is repeated with *συμπνευσάντων*, Madvig, 138; C. 622. The phrase *εἴ τι γένοιτο* is euphemistic: *even if some awful crisis were to happen.* **οὐδ' εἴ τι πάθοις**, Theocr., VIII., 10. — 5. **συμπνευσάντων** in this participial construction has the force of the optative mood. C. 658, a; Cu. 595; G. 226, 3; H. 803. There is a *varia lectio συμπνευσόντων*, which, strange to say, has been adopted by Bremi and others. But *πνέω* and its compounds use only the middle form of the future, never the active. — **ἡμῶν.** *As though the Thebans and ourselves would never again co-operate, come what might.*

169 — 179. AT THAT FATAL CRISIS, WHEN IN FULL ASSEMBLY ATHENS APPEALED TO HER STATESMEN FOR DIRECTION, WHO WAS IT THAT ROSE TO ANSWER? I ALONE. IF EVER THERE WAS A DEMAND FOR TRUE PATRIOTISM AND SOUND POLICY, THAT WAS THE TIME. SO I MOVED A RESOLUTION THAT WE SHOULD CO-OPERATE WITH THEBES IN RESISTANCE TO MACEDON; THAT OUR ENVOYS SHOULD BE DESPATCHED FORTHWITH, AND OUR ARMY AT ONCE MAKE A DEMONSTRATION.

169. 9. **Ἐσπέρα.** This splendid pictorial passage is duly lauded by Longinus (c. 10) and Hermogenes (p. 284): quoted also by Diodorus, XVI., 84. — 10. **πρυτάνεις** who, from their official position, would be the first recipients of all intelligence. *ὡς* = *πρός*. C. 711, a; Cu. 445; G. 191, 3; H. 614, 621. — 11. **δειπνοῦντες** in the Pryta-

neum at the public expense : a privilege of their office. Athen., V., p. 186, A. — 12. **ἐξείργον.** *Began driving the shopkeepers from their booths in the Agora*, sc. in order to clear the Agora, so that the Ecclesia might be convened with all possible expedition. Aristoph., *Ach.*, 21, 2. — 13. **γέρρα.** *Wicker-work* literally, but used, according to Harpocration, of any covering or roofing, whether it were canvas or leather, or otherwise. All editions seem to understand it here either as *sheds*, or else *coverings of the σκηναι*. I cannot but think myself that it refers to the γέρρα which fenced in the place of assembly so as to exclude strangers (c. *Neuer.*, p. 1375). They expected a “monster meeting” under such exciting circumstances, and made every preparation to receive an extraordinary number. To save time they burnt the hurdles instead of carrying them away, and so threw open ample space for all comers. — **ἐνέπιμπρασαν.** To serve as a beacon, according to Schäfer, but, as Whiston truly observes, the Agora was not a likely situation for that purpose. The sole object of burning these articles was most probably to clear them all away as fast as possible. — **στρατηγούς.** At such a crisis of the war a formal conference between the Strategi and the Boule would be necessary ; and probably it was desirable that the Ecclesia should be convened by a joint proclamation from the Strategi and the Boule (37) in order to make the summons as impressive and imperative as possible. — 14. **σαλπικτήν.** Perhaps it was a special formality to send out the summons by the σαλπικτής, as well as by the ordinary κήρυκες, whenever the Strategi were responsible for calling the Ecclesia together. The invariable use of σαλπικτής as a military term, and its juxtaposition to στρατηγούς here, combine to suggest this notion. In the spelling of σαλπικτής I have followed Dindorf and all the modern editors, who agree in omitting the γ. But cf. LIDD. and Sc. s. v. — **μετεπέμποντο... ἐκάλουν,** imperfect, indicating the simultaneous occurrence of many exhibitions of alarm. — 16. **ἄμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.** *At dawn of day*: there was nothing, however, extraordinary in this : the early hour of these meetings is constantly noticed : Aristoph., *Ach.*, 20, *Eccl.*, 312, 377, etc. — **ἐκάλουν.** These imperfects add to the pictorial force of the description. — 17. **βουλευτήριον.** A brief notice of the topography is here almost indispensable. The Bouleuterion stood in the Agora, probably on the extreme eastern side just below the Tholus or Prytaneum, which was in the northeast corner. Thus they were both immediately at the foot of the Acropolis, which bounded the Agora

on the east. — 18. **πρίν**. So eager were they to commence the business that they went and took their seats in the Pnyx long before the Boule had had time to consider and prepare their report. — 19. **ἄνω**, i. e. on the top of the Pnyx, the Bouleuterion being down in the Agora. The Agora occupied the whole of the level valley which was bounded on the west by the Pnyx, on the east by the Acropolis, on the north by the Areopagus, and on the south by the Museum. The members of the Boule, when adjourning to the Pnyx with their report, would have to traverse the Agora from east to west and ascend the hill of the Pnyx. For fuller particulars see the excellent article **ΑΘΗΝÆ** in Smith's *Dic. Geog.*, or Wordsworth's *Athens*. — 170. 20. **εἰσ-ῆλθεν**, sc. into the Pnyx, having held their deliberations in the Bouleuterion and now proceeding to report the result to the Demus, and put the question to their vote. — **οἱ πρυτάνεις**. It would be only the committee (*οἱ προέδροι*) who would actually attend to read the report (*ἀπῆγγειλαν*); or perhaps only *ὁ ἐπιστάτης*, as the mouthpiece of the whole body. — 21. **προσηγγελμένα**, sc. *ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς*. The report which they had been commissioned by the council to deliver. — 22. **παρήγαγον**. *Introduced to the meeting the messenger who had come*. Cf. Aristoph., *Ach.*, 22–172, for a description of the ordinary proceeding at an Ecclesia. — **εἶπεν**. *Had told his tale*; i. e. told the Demus the details which he had already told to the Prytanes and Boule. — **ἡρώτα**. *Kept asking*: the imperfect sense being here strongly marked. — **τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται**; The regular form of commencing the business. Aristoph., *Ach.*, 45. — P. 62, l. 3. **παρόντων**. The force of the participial construction is concessive. — 4. **ρήτόρων** contrasts curiously with *στρατηγῶν*, the latter being officials appointed by the state, the former merely self-appointed professionals, but yet recognized as a class, and a class on a par with the state officers. Our own “Government” and “Press” suggest an analogy. — 5. **τὸν ἐροῦνθ’**. *Some one to speak for the common weal*, *σωτηρίας*, as usual, of sound condition reconstituted from a state of decay or danger. The absence of the article is noticed by Reiske, but, as Schäfer comments, “*articulo facile caremus*: p. 146, 11.” — 171. 10. **τὸ βῆμα**. The famous *λίθος*, a cubic platform of ten feet cut out of the rock in the middle of the Pnyx semicircle. — 12. **οἱ τριακόσιοι**, i. e. the first class of the Finance Sections: their arrangement has been already described (10, *ἡγεμόνας*) in the account of the Naval Sections, whose organization was identical. — **ἀμφοτέρα**, in apposition with *τούς*, *those who were both*

those things at once, loyal to the state and wealthy. — 14. οἱ...ἐπιδόντες, those who subsequently gave the great voluntary contributions. ἐπιδόσεις are gifts after or in addition to their quota of assessed taxes. — 172. 17. παρηκολουθηκότα. Who had followed up, traced the course of. ὁ τὰ τούτου πονηρεύματ' ἀκριβέστατα εἰδὼς ἐγὼ καὶ παρηκολουθηκῶς ἄπασι, p. 423, l. 23. Cf. St. Luke's Gospel, c. i., v. 3. — 18. συλλελογισμένον. Perf. Midd. who had concluded: qui collegisset. — 21. οὗτ'. The reduplication of the negatives throughout this clause is very noticeable. — 22. ἔμελλεν. Was no more likely. C. 598; Cu. 501; H. 711. — 173. 24. οὗτος. Well, then: I showed myself the man, sc. δὴν ὁ καιρὸς ἐκείνος καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη ἐκάλει. With this emphatic position of ἐγὼ cf. 62 (fin.). — 25. ἃ. The relative must here be paraphrased for the sake of the English: I spoke before you...and hear what I said, with your best attention, for two reasons. — P. 63, l. 1. τάξιν. My post, 138 (fin.). Whiston cites c. Mid., 155, λελοιπέναι τὴν τοῦ δικαίου τάξιν. — 2. ἐξηταζόμεν. Approved myself, 197 (fin.). — 3. φοβεροῖς. In the very hour of panic. φοβερός always of horrors only, δεινός of wonders also. — μικρόν in pointed antithesis to πολλῶ. — 4. τῆς. The genitive depends on τὰ λοιπά, not on ἐμπειρότεροι: you will have far greater knowledge for the future of your whole administration. — 174. 5. εἶπον. So in Philip. II., Demosthenes quotes at length from a speech which he had addressed to the Messenians and the Argives. — 6. ὑπαρχόντων. Were supporting Philip. So 358, 7, τὸν Φίλιππον ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς, they had Philip, i. e. as a substantial basis of support. Cf. ὑπάρξαι in 1 (note). In the older editions φίλων was inserted after ὑπαρχόντων here, but Bekker erased it. See Schäfer's note. — 175. 14. ἡντρέπισται. Perf. Midd.; the action being for his own interest. — 18. ἐπάραι. Supply βούλεται, in answer to the question above. — 176. 22. δύσκολον. Unpleasant, euphemism for κακόν. The state of feeling between Thebes and Athens has often already been adverted to; 96, etc. — 23. Θεβαίοις, dat. of the agent by the Thebans, C. 461; Cu. 434; G. 188, 3; H. 600. — P. 64, l. 1. Observe the emphatic position of ἀμφοτέροι. — 2. πρὸς τῷ. Close application to the subject is here the preposition's force. περὶ ὧν ἂν λέγω obviously belongs to both the infinitives. — 177. 6. μεταθέσθαι, sc. τὸν φόβον: i. e. they are to dismiss apprehension for themselves, and to entertain apprehension for Thebes. — 7. τῶν δεινῶν, gen. with ἐγγύς. C. 445; Cu. 415; G. 182; H. 589. — 8. προτέροις. As a predicate: the peril is theirs first. — 9. ἐξεληθόντας. Secondly that all

of you who are of the age (i. e. for military service, 18 to 60) and all your cavalry should march out towards Eleusis and show the world that you are yourselves under arms. The article τοὺς has from the context the force of πάντας ὑμᾶς in both cases. The road to Thebes via Eleusis was the most convenient for an army, though not the most direct, as Whiston points out. — 12. ἐξ ἴσου γένηται. *May have equal liberty to speak boldly.* Literally: that this liberty may arise for them on a par. — 13. ὥσπερ, i. e. that both sides will have equal military support. — 178. 19. κυρίους. *To give them absolute power in conjunction with the Strategi to settle their time of going there (to Thebes) and the campaign.* — 24. αἰσχύρος. Because they would not be in a position to refuse. Observe the fondness of the Greek for the personal, or subjective form = *it would be dishonorable under the circumstances.* — P. 65, l. 1. καὶ ἄ. If καὶ is here *both*, it introduces the apodosis extending to πράξωμεν: if καὶ is *and*, the apodosis is not expressed but understood to be πάντα εἶ ἔχῃ or the like: a common aposiopesis before εἰ δὲ μή. Madv., 194, b, r. The former is to be preferred. — διωκημένοι. The middle voice again with the sense of action for their own interest. — 2. προσχήματος, Holmes renders here *magnificence*. But the commentators generally, with better reason, take the word in its more ordinary sense of *pretext*, or apparent motive, sc. of acting disinterestedly. — 3. ἂν δ' ἄρα μὴ συμβῇ. *If after all it be not our fortune to succeed.* Having done everything in their own power for success, their failure could only be attributed to τύχη. — 179. 5. Ταῦτα. The extreme ease and simplicity of the orator's language on this occasion has been noticed by all commentators, and is obvious to any reader. It may be very reasonably supposed that the orator at such a crisis would speak his very plainest, dismissing all elaboration and rhetorical ornament. So Lord Brougham appears to understand him. — 8. εἶπον μὲν. This vigorous climax has been universally admired, perhaps a little beyond its merits, which are due rather to the exquisitely antithetic power of μὲν and δέ than to any intrinsic vigor of thought in the sentence. *I did not speak thus, and yet not move a resolution; and I did not move a resolution, and yet not serve on the embassy; and I did not serve on the embassy, and yet not convince the Thebans.* Instead of *yet not*, Drake well renders οὐκ...δέ by *then not*. However we render the passage, it will be awkward and clumsy in English. The Latin translators are equally hampered. Aquila Romanus (p. 21) has “et non dixi hæc quidem non autem scripsi, etc.” Quintilian (ix., 3), cited

by Whiston, "nec hæc quidem dixi sed nec scripsi, etc." The notorious instance of climax in Cicero (*pro Mil.*, 23) is effected by "nec solum...sed etiam" in each clause. — 11. *ἔδωκ'.* *I devoted myself entirely to your interests.* Cf. τοῖς δεινοῖς αὐτοῦς διδόναι 97, where the sense of self-sacrifice is yet more prominent. — 12. *εἰς.* *In the face of,* i. e. so as to meet and encounter. — 13. *φέρει.* Apparently the clerk has to search for the document, and while they are waiting for it the orator seizes the opportunity for the following lament.

180. *Αἶ,* *ÆSCHINES,* WHAT WAS MY PART IN THE DRAMA, AND WHAT WAS YOURS? WAS YOUR SCENIC MAJESTY OF MUCH SERVICE TO HIS COUNTRY? OR WAS IT YOUR DERIDED RIVAL WHO WAS HERO OF THE HOUR?

16. *ῥῶ,* *ponam:* depict, represent. — 18. *Βάτταλον.* Some MSS. have *Βάταλον*, but not so well; the *a* of the first syllable is short by nature, and yet Athenæus in a pentameter (IV., 176, D) quotes the word as a dactyl: καὶ τὸν ἐν ἀκρήτοις Βάτταλον ἡδυπότην. As to the meaning of the nickname there are various solutions offered. The Scholiasts on *Æschin.*, p. 17, l. 42, render it *profligate, effeminate*, giving several different derivations, (1) as the actual name of a flute-player or poet Batalus, notorious for his effeminacy: (2) as the name of the *ὑποπόδιον* (instrument for beating time) which the flute-player worked with his right foot; hence metaphorically a term of contempt. They add one or two coarser etymologies. *Æschines* (p. 41, l. 13) explains the name similarly as given δι' αἰσχρουργίαν: and he quotes with derision the explanation of Demosthenes, that it was a pet name given him in infancy by his nurse (p. 17, l. 42). Schäfer, with the approval of Whiston, Drake, and many of the best editors, connects the name with βαττολογεῖν and takes it as an allusion to the orator's notorious defect in speech. It is probably onomatopoeic, like our words *stammer* and *stutter*. — *μηδ'...τυχόντα.* *Not even an ordinary hero,* i. e. more than an ordinary; cf. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὦν ἐτυχεν ἦν, 130. — 19. *τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς,* *those of the stage,* i. e. one of the characters so often acted on the stage. See *Lex.*, sub *ἀπό*. It was the privilege of third-rate actors to act such tyrants and kings as Cresphontes and Creon. ἐστὶν ὥσπερ γέρας τοῖς τριταγωνισταῖς τὸ τοῦς τυράννοισι καὶ τοῖς τὰ σκῆπτρα ἔχοντας εἰσιέναι, p. 418, l. 12. — *Κρεσφόντην.* A play of Euripides bore this name. Aristotle's *Poet.*, 14, 19. *Ælian* tells us (*V. II.*, 14, 40) that Merope, wife of Cresphontes, was the chief character in this tragedy, and Plutarch (*Mor.*,



998 E) describes her in one of the scenes as taking up an axe to slay her son. Cresphontes, according to early history, was a Heracleid, king of Messenia, murdered in a rebellion by Polyphontes, one of his nobles, who then constrained Merope to marry him. Welcker conjectures that the action of the drama would be all subsequent to the death of Cresphontes, who would only appear to speak the prologue, as a ghost, like Polydorus in the *Hecuba*. — **Κρέοντα**. In the *Antigone* of Sophocles; also a subordinate part. — 20. **Κολλυτῷ**. One of the demes where dramatic performances took place during the rural Dionysia, outside the boundaries of the city. The site of Collytus was in the valley between the Pnyx and the Museum. It was the deme where Plato resided, and probably Æschines also, if we can trust at all to the evidence of the spurious letters. *Κολλύτου ἐν ᾧ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη ᾤκησα*. [*Æschin.*] *Ep.* 5. — **Οἰνόμαον**. In the *Cenomaus* of Sophocles, where the principal part would, of course, be that of Pelops or else Hippodamia. — **κακῶς**. *You murdered by your vile acting*. One MS., b, inserts *κακός* before *κακῶς*, greatly improving the sentence, but none of the other MSS. contain it. It is probably the embellishment of some later hand. With *ἐπέτριψας* we can compare *ἐλυμαίνου*, 267. Dissen cites *Memnona iugulare*. Hor., 1 *Sat.*, X., 36. — **ὑποκρινόμενος**. The story goes that Æschines, on one occasion, tripped and fell down on the stage while running after Pelops in the character of *Cenomaus* (*Vit. Æschin.*). Others opine that his fall was only metaphorical, *καταπίπτειν* corresponding to *συρίττεσθαι* (*explodi*) = to break down and be hissed off the stage. — 21. **Παιανιεύς**, i. e. he accepts the name of contempt and facetiously adds his own correct address; similarly he bestows on Æschines the name of dignity, attaching also his address in form. “Forsooth I am the miscreant and you the monarch; well, the miscreant on that occasion was the hero of the hour, the monarch of Elis was a mere nonentity.” — 181. P. 66. **ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ**. Another forgery; the name of the Archon is wrong; the whole document is pointless and ungrammatical, needlessly long, and as feeble as it is verbose. That such a composition should claim Demosthenes for its author is, of course, ridiculous. Even Vömel does not defend it. There is a special absurdity in supposing he could have written the mythical allusions with which the psephisma concludes. — **Ναυσικλέους**. The date is still 339, of which year the real Archon was Lysimachidas. This forgery is also inconsistent with the forgery of § 164, where the Archon’s name is given as Hero-



pythes; it must be remembered that both documents, from their contents, refer to the same year, that the former is dated Thargelion, this latter Skirophorion (the next month later), between which months no change of Archon would naturally occur. — ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς. Philip in an Athenian document would usually be called ὁ Μακεδών. And so one MS. reads: another merely omits βασιλεύς. — συνθήκας. According to Böhmcke, the peace of Philocrates, B. C. 346. Cf. 20. — πόλεις. On the Thracian coast (27). — προάγει. Post-classical for προέρχεται (cf. p. 29, l. 18). — 182. ἐμφρούρους. Post-classical in this sense: φρουρὰν εἰσήγαγεν εἰς... Æschin., p. 532. — οὐδέν. This censorious observation is quite out of place in a public resolution, and is only worthy of so poor a forgery as this. — κατακόρως. Post-classical for ἀσελγῶς (cf. p. 120, l. 10). — 183. ἰδίας. *Proprias nostras*; Athenian; whereas βαρβάρους means the Thracian πόλεις οὐδὲν προσηκούσας in 181, distinct from τινὰς καὶ Ἀθηναίων. — αὐτόν, sc. τὸν δῆμον: meaning that Athens was indifferent so long as the aggression was merely on their own colonies; but when it came to be on Ἑλληνικάς πόλεις, then Athens could refrain no longer. — 184. διό. There is no apodosis to the long sentence ἐπειδὴ... καταδουλουμένους. Schäfer, however, considers this as Demosthenic and compares 126. Grote (XI., 673) remarks on this psephisma, that it implies that Athens was now about to pass out of pacific relations with Philip, whereas, on the contrary, they had for some time been at war, a fact which made the seizure of Elatea all the more formidable and significant. — εὐξαμένους. This passage is apparently adapted from the beginning of Xenoph., *Cyrop.*, II., προσευξαμένοισι θεοῖς καὶ ἥρωσι τοῖς Περσίδα γῆν κατέχουσιν (which Schäfer cites as an illustration). Dissen, however, takes it seriously as a natural preparation for a "bellum gravissimum futurum." — ἥρωσι, sc. ἐπώνυμοις, whose ten statues stood in the Agora. — ζιότι. Post-classical for ὅτι as in 155, 167. — ναύαρχον, 73, note s. v. — 185. P. 67. ἀλλότριον. By euphemism; as δύσκολον, 176, which section illustrates this whole clause. — ἄλλοφύλου. The Macedonians were a mixture of Illyrians and Pelasgians. The orator disregards the claim of their kings to be descended from the Argive Temenidæ, Her., V., 22, VIII., 137. He always speaks of Philip as βάρβαρον (p. 35, p. 119, etc.). — 186. οὔτε... τῷ ὁμοφύλῳ, neither in connection by families nor identity of race. ὁμοφύλοι, of course, as Hellenes, and συγγενεῖς, as is conjectured, through the Gephyraei, an Athenian gens originally from Thelæ. WHISTON.—

**ὑποστερουμένους.** By Eurystheus, according to traditional history. Cf. Müller, *Dor.*, I., p. 54. — **Οἰδίπουν.** Œdipus had been a connecting link between Thebes and Athens, as we see in Soph., *O. C.*, 91, 1521. — **ἕτερα,** e. g. at Haliartus, 395; in the recovery of the Cadmea at Thebes, 379; in the alliance between Thebes and Athens, 378, etc. The reference is to services rendered by the Athenians, which would serve as a precedent for their rendering similar services now. — 187. **ἐπιγαμίαν,** 91. — **πρέσβεις.** Only five names are given, yet in 178 we read *χειροτονῆσαι κελεύω δέκα πρέσβεις*.

188–191. THIS DECREE PROVED OUR SALVATION. IF THERE WAS ANYTHING BETTER WE COULD HAVE DONE, WHY DID NO ONE POINT IT OUT AT THE TIME? OR WHY DOES NO ONE POINT IT OUT EVEN NOW? IT IS JUST THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN STATESMANSHIP AND FACTION, THAT THE FORMER COMMITS ITSELF TO RESPONSIBILITIES, THE LATTER SIMPLY CARPS AT EVENTS AND RESULTS.

3. **ὑπὸ τούτων,** i. e. by the Athenian political party who favored Macedon. — P. 68, l. 1. **ὥσπερ νέφος.** Why this trite simile should be so much admired by Longinus, Hermogenes, Demetrius, etc., is not so easy to understand. To say, as they do, that the rhythm of the sentence is perfect, is only the same as saying it is Demosthenic. But I cannot see that in this passage the orator has at all surpassed himself. — 2. **μὴ νῦν ἐπιτιμᾶν.** Observe the force of the pres. inf. in contrast with the aor. (*δεῖξαι*): *not to be censuring now*. — 189. 3. **ὁ γάρ.** *For the Statesman and the Sneak, though alike in nothing, differ from each other most in this; the one speaks his mind before the event and commits himself to the mercy of those who have believed him, of fortune, of occasion, of any one that chooses; while the other holds his tongue when he ought to have spoken, and afterwards, if anything unpleasant results, comes grudging at that.* The word *συκοφάντης* (118) is quite untranslatable, but had come to be synonymous by this time with *πονηρός*, cf. *Æsch.*, *F. L.*, 105: *ἡ τῶν πονηρῶν κοινὴ ἐπωνυμία*. Whiston translates it *caviller* or *common accuser*; Lord Brougham, *partisan*; Kennedy, *pettifogger*; while all agree that no English word renders it exactly, since the *thing* exactly does not exist out of Athens. The redundant *τῶν ἄλλων* disappears in English. By *τοῖς πεισθεῖσι* we understand the members of the state who have accepted the policy suggested by the *σύμβουλος*, and who hold him *responsible* accordingly; the success or failure of his policy depends on circumstances, in which sense he is also *liable* to these. *βασκαίνειν* in the sense of *reviling* takes an accusative either

of the person or thing (p. 94, l. 10). By τῷ βουλευμένῳ is meant any member of the state who may choose to rise and speak against the statesman after his policy has been proved a failure; such a member is distinct from οἱ πεισθέντες, inasmuch as he may have opposed the policy at the time, or may have passed it in silence without expressing approval. — 190. 10. ἐκείνος in strong contrast to νῦν which follows. — φροντίζοντος. *Who has a regard for the state and for saying what is right*: λόγων in reference to σιγήσας above. — 12. ὑπερβολήν. *I make such a superabundance of concession*, i. e. I show a generosity which is simply extravagant in giving my opponents another chance of attacking me. Demosthenes specially affects the word ὑπερβόλη. (p. 35, l. 18; p. 553, l. 12, etc.) — 13. ἐνῆν. *Was practicable*, lit. *was admitted by the circumstances of the crisis*. — 16. μὴ λαθεῖν, *this ought not to have escaped me*. The *me* is emphatic. — 17. μηδέπω, *not even to this day*: καί again intensive. Another good example of the reduplicated negative. Cf. 139. — 18. φαινομένων. *Visible*: illustrated by δεῖξαι and ἑώρακεν above. — 191. 21. οὐ. The amusing sarcasm is sufficiently explained by the context τοῦτο βασκαίνει, 189; ὑπεύθυνον τῇ τύχῃ (ib.). — 22. ἐγγυᾶσθαι. *To be answerable for*. εἰν ἄρα μή τινες ἐθέλωσιν αὐτὸν τῶν φίλων ἐγγυᾶσθαι τε καὶ συνεκτίνοντες ἀπελευθεροῦν, Plat., *Leg.*, 955, B. — 25. ἀλλά. *Yet*, introducing the apodosis, ἔδειξας being of course supplied in the protasis. This use of ἀλλά, though common in conditional sentences, is rare in causal. — 26. τίς in an indirect question, 73, note. By the slight trajection of ἢ this τίς is made to refer to λόγος and καιρός equally. — 27. τῇ πόλει. Dative of relation, here decidedly in the category *in commodi*. — P. 69, l. 1. συμμαχία. Combined also with πρᾶξις above, 22. — 2. τουτουσί. Deictic: he would point to his present hearers, the Athenian nation in assembly.

192–195. LOOK AT THE PRINCIPLE OF MY POLICY, NOT AT THE ISSUE OF EVENTS. OF COURSE, NO ONE CAN COMMAND SUCCESS, BUT DID I OMIT ANY MEANS TO DESERVE IT? THE STORM WRECKED OUR VESSEL, BUT DID THE CAPTAIN NEGLECT HIS DUTY? IF WE FARED THUS BADLY EVEN WITH THE THEBANS FOR ALLIES, WHAT SHOULD WE HAVE DONE WITHOUT THEM?

192. 3. τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθός. “Let the dead past bury its dead”; “Let bygones be bygones.” — 4. ἀφέϊται. The perfect gives the force of *utter and thorough* dismissal. — 6. ἀπαιτεῖ. *Demands the office of a statesman*, i. e. requires the statesman to be at his post and

taking his proper part. See 13, τάξει. — 8. προαίρεσιν. *Principle*, 12. Cf. also 93. — μὴ...συκοφάντει. *Do not be continually carping at the events.* πέρας, which follows, corresponds exactly to *exitus* and *end*. So also τέλος in the next sentence. — 193. 15. λογισμόν. *Calculation*, i. e. forecasting of the future and preparations to meet it. — 16. ὑπὲρ δύναμιν. *With an industry above my power*; i. e. an extraordinary and amazing effort. — 17. ἐνεστησάμην. To be taken with οὐ, which belongs to the verb entirely here, not to the adjectives: *that I did not institute*. — 18. τότε ἤδη. *Tum demum: then but not before*, 47 (last note). — 194. 19. σκηπτός. Most MSS. add ἢ χειμῶν, but Reiske and Bremi concurred in expunging those words as a gloss. So also Dindorf. The word σκηπτός, as its etymology indicates, would equally describe *a squall* or *a thunderbolt*. The gloss would limit it to the former sense, whereas the latter is more appropriate here. With the metaphor Bremi compares χειμάρρους, 153. — 20. μέζων. So ἐλάττων (142) in the converse meaning (Madv., 90, r. 4): *too strong for*. — 21. ὥσπερ ἂν introduces the implied answer to the question which precedes. Do just as you would in the case of the captain of the vessel, that is, not censure him, nor hold him responsible for the shipwreck when he has done all he can to prevent it. C. 662 d; H. 754. — ναύκληρον. *Ship's captain*: originally the captain was always the owner of the vessel, so that the two senses were embodied in ναύκληρος; afterwards the sense of ownership disappears, and that of seamanship, or supreme direction, predominates. — 22. σωτηρία, *for a safe voyage*. This technical sense of σώζεσθαι as applied to a ship is notorious (cf. p. 883, l. 15, etc.): so σωθήσεσθαι which immediately follows would strictly mean *to arrive safe in harbor*. — κατασκευάσαντα, *after he had fitted up*: another nautical phrase, and so σκευῶν (*tackle*) which follows. — 24. χρησάμενον, *usum*. *Having met with, or experienced*. The verb χρῶμαι, like *utor* and our word *experience*, applies to any material or influence, whether beneficial or pernicious, with which the subject is brought in contact. Cf. ἀπολοῖα χρῆσθαι. Eur., *I. A.*, 88. — πονησάντων, *labored, in the nautical sense, i. e. suffered*. λαΐφος ὅταν λάβῃ πόνος θραυνομένας κεραίαις. Æsch., *Eumen.*, 526. — 25. συντριβέντων. Another nautical phrase: *wrecked*: φυλασσομένους τῶν νεῶν μὴ ξυντρίψωσιν. Thuc., *IV.*, 11. — 26. ἐκυβέρνηων. There was nothing to prevent a ναύκληρος from steering his own vessel. But the orator, of course, cites an instance where the κυβερνήτης has been left in sole charge of the helm. — 27. ὥσπερ οὐδ', *just as I too myself was*

*not in command.* The force of οὐδέ is to emphasize the parallel, where the case of a σύμβουλος differs from that of a ναύκληρος: in the next sentence the cases are identical and the negative becomes οὔτε. See Madv., 208, r; C. 701, 1, c; Cu. 625; H. 858. — 195. P. 70, l. 3. εἵμαρτο sums up the effect of τύχη, ὁ δαίμων, ὁ θεός. — οὕτως...πρᾶξαι, *to fare thus.* — 4. μηδέ, *not even*: i. e. a different policy would have left us without *even* that advantage. — 5. ἐκεῖνος, sc. Philip. Æschines would have been οὗτος. — ἀφῆκε, *sent forth* letters, messages, addresses (literally *voices*) of every kind. Reiske and Schäfer render: nihil indictum reliquit, left nothing unsaid. Cf. 277; οἷας τὸτ' ἠφίει φωνὰς Φίλιππος. — 6. εἰ νῦν. *If, as it was, when the battle was fought three days' march from Attica.* ὁδός is constantly used to estimate distance, and ἡμερῶν is here a genitive of quantity. νῦν is used with the same force in the next sentence, opposed to τότε, in the other case. — 8. τῆς χώρας, partitive, depending on πον. — 10. στήναι, *to stand, to concentrate, to take breath, to do many things that conduced to the preservation of the state.* The asyndeton is especially vigorous, implying rapidity of thought and action at the crisis. — καὶ δύο. The conjunctive particle where English requires the disjunctive. 104. μικρὰ καί. — 12. τότε δ'. The common aposiopesis to express horror. Quintil., IX., 3, 61. — ἃ γε μηδέ. The negative μὴ distributes the force of the relative, to which it entirely belongs in this clause, having no reference to the verb. — 13. πείραν ἔδωκε. Cf. note, 107. The verb has no subject according to the reading of my text, which is Dindorf's and also that of the majority of editors. Only one MS. reads εὐνοία...τό. The rest all agree in reading εὐνοία...τῇ. Two explanations may be suggested: (1) that this is a mixture of constructions not inappropriate in a moment of agitation (Madvig, 216); (2) that we understand for the subject of ἔδωκε the Supreme Δαίμων, as in the elliptical phrases ὕει, νίφει, σέλει κ. τ. λ. Render: *It is not worth while to mention those things of which we have not even been suffered to undergo the experience through the kindness of some one of the gods, and by reason of the state having shielded itself with this alliance which you inveigh against.*

196 - 198. I ONLY DWELL ON THESE DETAILS FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF YOU WHO ARE MY HEARERS. ÆSCHINES KNOWS THEM ALL FULL WELL, AND FOR HIM I SHOULD HAVE FEW WORDS. HE IS THE VILEST AND MOST PERNICIOUS OF ALL YOUR POLITICIANS, AND, IF THINGS WERE RIGHT, NOT I, BUT HE WOULD BE THE PERSON ARRaigned BEFORE YOU THIS DAY.

196. 16. ταυτὶ...τὰ πολλά. *All this my long story.* τί τὰ πολλά ἂν λέγοι τις; p. 886 (*fin.*). — 17. ἔξωθεν. *Outside the bar*, or wooden railing (δρύφακτος) by which the court was surrounded. Aristoph., *Eg.*, 675, etc. — 19. ἐξήρκει, *were enough*. The same use of the imperfect and pluperfect obtains in Latin (e. g. Hor., 2 *Od.*, XVII., 28, and Verg., *Georg.*, II., 132). The imperfect without ἂν is used to denote what would be an immediate and easily foreseen consequence of anything. Cf. Madv., 118, b, where numerous examples are given. This was probably the original form of the conditional apodosis of past time, and ἂν, the particle of futurity, would come to be added to the verb merely for the sake of greater precision and exactness. C. 631, f; Cu. 542. — 22. προήδεις. ἤδεισθα or ἤδησθα are the more common Attic forms in the simple verb, as Whiston observes in his excellent note, citing Lobeek (*Phryn.*, 237). — 23. τοῖς ἄλλοις depends on τῆς αὐτῆς. Madv., 37, R. 2; C. 451; Cu. 436, b; G. 186; H. 603. — 197. P. 71, l. 3. οὐ γάρ, 47 note οὐδὲν γάρ ἂν. The passage implies a high compliment to the people. — 5. τῇ πόλει. This dative belongs both to the clause which precedes it and to the clause which follows it, referring as much to τοῦτο πεποιηκώς as it does to φαυλότατος and δυσμενέστατος, and being in each case *dativus incommodi*. — 7. Ἀρίστρατος. It would appear from the context that Aristratus and Aristolaus were working for Philip's interest in their respective localities. History, however, leaves us in the dark as to their operations. The sense of κρίνουσι is the same as κρίνει in 15, and καθάπαξ resembles our colloquial phrase *out-and-out*. — 198. 11. ἐνευδοκιμεῖν, *to be distinguished in*, that is, *to found a reputation upon*. The inf. may be explained as an acc. of respect (Holmes), or as an inf. of result with which ὥστε is usually expressed. Dobree notices that Ἑλλήνων...ἀπέκειτο is hexametric. — 15. δηλοῖς δὲ καί, *and you show this too*. — ὦν ζῆς. Cf. ὦν βεβίωκεν 130, note. — 16. οὐ πολιτεύει. Kennedy preserves the contrast aptly: *your political action and your political inaction*. — 17. ἀντέκρουσε. οἱ στρατηγοὶ εὐθὺς ἐν ἀθυρίᾳ ἦσαν ὅτι αὐτοῖς τοῦτό τε πρῶτον ἀντεκεκρούκει. Thuc., VI., 46. — 19. ῥήγματα καὶ σπάσματα. Cf. *Olynth.*, 2, p. 24. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ἡμῶν ἕως μὲν ἂν ἐρρωμένος ᾖ τις, οὐδὲν ἐπαισθάνεται τῶν καθ' ἕλαστα σαθρῶν, ἐπὰν δὲ ἀρρώστημά τι συμβῇ πάντα κινεῖται, κὰν ῥήγμα κὰν στρέμμα κὰν ἄλλο τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σαθρὸν ᾖ. — 20. κινεῖται, *are disturbed*, i. e. the limb originally fractured or sprained gives symptoms of the old weakness returning.



199–205. SUPPOSING WE HAD ADOPTED ANY OTHER POLICY THAN THAT, SUPPOSING WE HAD Demeaned OURSELVES TO SUBMIT TO MACEDON, HOW COULD WE HAVE FACED THE DISGRACE OF OUR POSITION? HOW COULD A NATION LIKE OURS WITH ITS SPIRIT AND TRADITIONS AND RENOWN HAVE ENDURED SUCH A DEGRADATION? SURELY IN OUR ESTIMATION DEATH IS BETTER THAN DISHONOR.

199. 21. ἔγκειται, *incumbit in*: *lays great stress upon*: cf. sup. μὴ τὰ συμβάντα συκοφάντει, 192. πολὺς is used in the same way (adverbially) by Herodotus, VII., 158, and Thucydides, IV., 22. — 24. εἰ γάρ, i. e. if all had been going on as Æschines falsely represents it to have been. On the imperfect tenses, cf. 9, note. — 27. ὅς. *You who did not so much as make a sound, did not even open your mouth.* — οὐδ' οὕτως. *Not even then ought the city to have abandoned this course, if it had any regard for its honor, or its forefathers, or its future.* By τούτων is clearly meant προσεσθάναι τῶν ἄλλων, 200. — 200. P. 72, l. 2. ἀποτυχεῖν, *to have failed*: a good instance of the aorist retaining its preterite sense in the infinitive mood. Madv., 172, a. — 4. ἀξιοῦσα, *while claiming continually to be the leader of others*, i. e. to lead the rest of Greece in their opposition to Philip. Observe the difference between the imperfect in ἀξιοῦσα and the aorist in ἀποστᾶσα, the former denoting a continued, and the latter a momentary action. — 7. προείτο. Pluperf. midd. *had she thrown away.* The adverb ἀκοντί, *without a struggle*, occurs in Thuc., IV., 73, καὶ αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ἀκοντί τὴν νίκην δικαίως ἀντίθεσθαι. Vocabulum ex palæstra desumptum. BREMI. — οὐδένα... οὐχ, *every conceivable peril.* On οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ, see Madv., 105, b, R. — 9. μὴ γάρ. Subin. εἶπω: i. e. you, Æschines, would alone have been to blame; not the state; not I; heaven forefend I should name either as responsible. A similar ellipse of εἶπω in the phrase μὴ ὅτι has been already noticed. The genitives πόλεως, ἐμοῦ are, of course, governed by κατέπτυσεν. — 201. 10. ἑωρῶμεν ἄν. *With what face, pray, could we have looked on any one visiting our city, had matters converged to their present crisis, and Philip been elected leader and lord of all, and had the struggle to prevent this been fought by others without ourselves, and that though our state has never yet, in all her former ages, preferred dishonorable safety to peril for the sake of honor?* The whole sentence from εἰ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει is one sustained protasis, of which, however, there are two branches, slightly distinct, the first ending with πάντων, and the δέ of τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ answering to the μέν of τὰ μέν: i. e. the facts are



put as the first consideration, the omissions are put as the second. — 202. 18. **τις...Ἑλλήνων, τις...βαρβάρων**, i. e. who in the wide world. — 19. **Θηβαίων**, whose supremacy extended, from the date of Leuctra to that of Mantinea (18), nine years. — **πρότερον**, i. e. between the establishment of the Thirty, and the battle of Leuctra; thirty-three years. — 20. **Περσῶν**. Tracing history backwards he arrives at the strong point of Athenian history, the period of the Persian wars. Dissen cites in illustration here Herod., VIII., 136–144; IX., 1–5; and *Philipp.*, II., p. 68. — 21. **χάριτος**. That is, they would have been thankful to secure at any sacrifice the resignation by Athens of her post as the champion of Greece, it being assumed that the strength of Greece in reality depended solely on the fact of the Athenian supremacy. — 22. **βούλεται**. The indicative again in an historic consecution. *Madv.*, 130, b. The primary tense is here also the more vigorous. — **λαβούση**. *That she should take whatever she pleased, retaining also whatever she possessed, provided she would submit to dictation, and allow some other power to hold the supremacy of Hellas.* A striking example of the participial clause dominating over the principal clause to which it is in form subordinate (*Madv.*, 176, b). We must notice *λαβούση*, the aorist, of single acquisition, *έχούση*, the imperfect, of permanent possession. Cf. *άξιούσα* and *άποστάσα*, 200. By *τὸ κελεύόμενον ποιῆν* is meant simply a state of submission and subjection, the exact opposite of *προεστάναι*. So again 204. — 203. 25. **πάτρια**, *national*: i. e. the feelings which the Athenians, as a nation, inherited from their forefathers. — 27. **μή δίκαια**. The negative is *μή* to make the designation indefinite and hypothetical. C. 686; Cu. 618; G. 283, 5; H. 840. It is trajected from its ordinary position (immediately after *δέ*) in order to keep it close to *δίκαια*. Translate: *those who are powerful, it is true, but who do what is wrong.* — P. 73, l. 1. **προσθεμένην** denotes the manner or means, *by attaching herself to.* — 2. **ἀλλ' ἁγωνιζομένη**, *but in her struggle for pre-eminence, for honor, for glory, she has persistently imperilled herself through her whole history.* *ἁγωνίζεσθαι*, of a severe and protracted effort, as in 20. *αἰῶνα* accusative of duration of time. — 3. **διατετέλεκε**, cf. C. 677, e; Cu. 590; H. 798; G. 279, note. — 204. 5. **ἥθειν**, *character* as the result of manners and habits. *ἥθος* = a prolonged and strengthened *ἔθος*. *ἡ δὲ ἠθικὴ ἐξ ἔθους περιγίνεται, ὅθεν καὶ τοῦνομα ἔσχηκε μικρὸν παρεκκλίνον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθους.* *Aristot., Eth., II., 1.* — 7. **ἀγάσαιτο**. *Who would not admire the valor of those heroes?* It is pretty clear, as Dissen remarks, whom the

orator intends for the Themistocles of his own period, and whom for the Cysrilus. — 8. *καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν*, *not only their territory, but even their city*. — 10. *τὸ κελεύόμενον*, i. e. to submit to the terms dictated by Persia. — 12. *ἀποφηνάμενον*. We have had the full phrase *ἀποφαίνεται γνώμην*, 189. — 13. *Κυρσίλον*. A question arises here on a small historical point. Is this Cysrilus the same person whom Herodotus (IX., 5) calls Lycidas? If not, there was a singular coincidence in the fate of these two unfortunate men. Each of them is represented as having advocated submission to Persia, and being stoned to death in consequence. But the dates differ. The death of Cysrilus, according to the orator, took place when the Athenians had only just resolved to abandon Athens and take to their wooden walls. The death of Lycidas, according to Herodotus, took place immediately after the capture of Athens by Mardonius, who then made overtures of peace to the Athenian government who were with the fleet at Salamis. This difference of date is almost conclusive against the identity of the two cases. And surely it is very possible that in this exciting year there were two victims to the patriotic fury of the populace, both of whom died under exactly similar circumstances. The first case would be only too likely to serve as a precedent for the second. Cicero clearly accepts it as a true history, judging by his context in the *De Off.*, III., 11, 48. The commentators, however, generally consider the two cases as one, with a discrepancy in the names. — 14. *τὴν γυναῖκα*. In the case of Lycidas not only the wife but the children also were murdered. Herod. (*l. c.*). — 205. 16. *δουλεύσουσιν εὐτυχῶς*, *who would secure them a comfortable slavery*. Here the indicative again in the historic consecution adds to the force of the picture. So also *ἐξέσται* in the following clause. Besides adding to the vivacity, the indicatives here “identify the Athenians of the two different ages, and represent the liberty and independence of one epoch as the unbroken continuity of the freedom asserted in another.” WHISTON. — 18. *οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ*. Cf. [Platonis] *Epist.*, IX. (translated by Cicero, *De Off.*, I., 7, 22), *ἐκαστος ὑμῶν οὐχ αὐτῷ μόνον γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς γενέσεως ἡμῶν τὸ μὲν τι ἢ πατρὶς μερίζεται, τὸ δὲ τι οἱ γεννήσαντες, τὸ δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ φίλοι*. BREMI. — 22. *περιμένει*. *Awaits his appointed and natural end*: *εἰμαρμένης*, as distinct from suicide; *ἀντόματον* as distinct from death by external violence. — *καὶ τῇ πατρίδι*, sc. *γενεῇσθαι νομίζων*, *while the other deeming himself born for his country also*. — 23. *ἐπιθεῖν* in its very frequent sense of

*living to see evil.* Æsch., *Ag.*, 1246, *Soph.*, *Trach.*, 1206, etc. — 24. τὰς... ἀτιμίας, *the outrages and indignities.* Observe the emphatic position of τοῦ θανάτου = *death itself.* WHISTON.

206–210. SUCH HAS BEEN ALWAYS YOUR SPIRIT. I DO NOT PRETEND THAT I INSPIRED IT, BUT I DO MAINTAIN THAT I MINISTERED TO IT MOST EFFECTIVELY. IF YOU CONDEMN MY FRIEND, YOU CONDEMN YOUR OWN CONDUCT AT THAT PERIOD. YOU ATTRIBUTE YOUR FAILURE TO MISJUDGMENT, NOT TO MISFORTUNE. BUT OH! BY THE MEMORY OF OUR ANCESTORS, YOUR CONDUCT WAS RIGHT BEYOND QUESTION. IT WAS PERIL FOR THE SAKE OF FREEDOM. THE IDEA OF ÆSCHINES SPEAKING AS HE DID ABOUT NATIONAL TROPHIES AND HONORS, AND THEN EXPECTING THAT YOUR STATESMEN SHOULD DIRECT YOU OTHERWISE THAN WAS WORTHY OF THESE PAST TRIUMPHS! IN PUBLIC LIFE WE ARE ALL OF US BOUND TO FOLLOW THE FOOTSTEPS OF OUR NOBLE FOREFATHERS, AND TO ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR NATIONAL SPIRIT. YOU, GENTLEMEN, IN YOUR JUDICIAL CAPACITY FEEL THIS, I AM SURE, AS I DO, AND ACT UPON IT WITHOUT FAIL.

206. P. 74, l. 3. ὑμετέρας. The predicate is put first for the sake of emphasis. — 5. τῆς μέντοι διακονίας. *In the execution, however, of every single thing that has been done, I say that I also have had a share.* On the primary sense of ἐπί see 17: here we might render it *connected with.* — 207. 6. τῶν ὅλων. *The entire business,* i. e. both τὰς προαιρέσεις and τὰ πεπραγμένα, both our policy and its execution. τοῖς ὅλοις 39. — 9. τιμῆς. *My honor,* sc. τοῦ στεφάνου. — 10. ἐγκώμια. *Your triumphs.* Aristotle (*Rhet.*, I., 9) defines ἐγκώμιον as special laudation bestowed for particular and brilliant actions, ἔπαινος signifying praise in general. — τῆς μὲν...τὰ δ'. These particles mark and emphasize the comparison between the less injury done to the orator and the greater wrong inflicted on his country: *seeks to deprive me, indeed, of my honor for the present, but robs you of your triumphs for all future time.* — 12. τουδί. *If you condemn my friend Ctesiphon, on the plea that I have not advised our state for the best, you will adjudge yourselves to have done wrong, and not to have suffered those results merely through the perverseness of fortune.* He means that in condemning his policy and action they would practically condemn their own, as he had been merely the mouthpiece and instrument of the national will. Thus their failures would be deserved, not accidental. On the participial construction see Madvig, 175, 176. With ἀγνωμοσύνη Schäfer compares *Soph.*, *O. C.*, 86: Φοῖσφ τε κάμοι μὴ γένησθ' ἀγνώ-

*moves*: also p. 1468, l. 15. In *δόξετε* here there is much of the technical meaning *to be formally decreed* which *δοκεῖν* so often possesses. — 208. 17. **προκινδυνεύσαντας**. *Who bore the brunt*. The compound *προ-* is of locus here, i. e. the forefront of the battle. The expression is probably adopted from Thucydides (I., 73), who says that, we alone, sc. the Athenians, at Marathon bore the brunt of battle with the barbarian, *προκινδυνεύσαι τῷ βαρβάρῳ*. This apostrophe is deservedly admired by Longinus (c. 16), Hermogenes (p. 260), Aristides (p. 170), Quintilian, XI., 3, etc. — 18. **παραταξαμένους**. *Who stood in the ranks*: Thuc., I., 29. It has been well observed by all critics that the orator carefully avoids in this description any allusion to the victories of Marathon, Platæa, etc. He is citing examples, not of *success*, but of *intrepidity*, else of course his parallel would fail. And he justifies his parallel most happily by the words at the close of this sentence *οὐς ἅπαντας...μόνους*. See Longinus, l. c., Lord Brougham (Works VII., 124), Whiston in loc., et al. — 20. **μνήμασι**. *Τιθέασιν οὖν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον σῆμα, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ καλλίστου προαστείου τῆς πόλεως* (the Ceramicus) *καὶ αἰεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ θάπτουσι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων*. Thuc., II., 34. He excepts the heroes of Marathon who were buried on the spot where they fell. — 24. **δικαίως**. Cf. *εἰκότως* 23. — 209. 27. **γραμματοκύφων**. Derived, according to *Etym. Mag.*, either from *κυφός* (*ὅτι οἱ γραμματεῖς προκεκυφότες γράφουσιν*) or else from *κύφων* the pilory (*ἐπεὶ οἱ ἀγοραῖοι τῷ κύφῳ μαστιγοῦνται*)! We have no English equivalent. Perhaps *you scribbling scoundrel* would be sufficiently abusive. — P. 75, l. 2. **ἔλεγε**. *Æschines*, p. 79 sq. *πότερον ὑμῖν ἀμείνων ἀνὴρ εἶναι δοκεῖ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ στρατηγῆσας ὅτε τὴν περὶ Σαλαμίνα ναυμαχίαν τὸν Πέρσην ἐνικᾶτε, ἢ Δημοσθένης ὁ τὰς τάξεις λιπών*; κ. τ. λ. — **ὧν**, i. e. they were, he alleges, irrelevant in the present action against Ctesiphon. *And yet what of these were required for the present trial?* — **τίνος**. We must resolve this, in English, into an interrogative principal sentence, *Madv.*, 198, a. — 4. **τὸν περὶ**. *And I who was coming forward to advise the state about her supremacy, in whose spirit ought I to have mounted the Bema? The spirit of a man who would say what was unworthy of the past?* *πρωτείων*, i. e. to suggest a policy by which she should retain her primacy, 66. The masculine gender of *τίμος* is clear from the context. The gender of *τούτων* is neuter, and it must include the notion of *τρόπαια, μάχας*, κ. τ. λ. which he has specified above. So Holmes. But Westermann, Whiston, Kennedy, Leland, and the commentators generally, take it to be masculine, and

refer it to the Athenians, *unworthy of the people*.—210. 7. **δικαίως**. *May, but I should not have been fit to live; strictly, I should have deserved to be executed*. We have to supply *εἰ φρόνημα τοιοῦτον ἔλαβον*.—**ὑμᾶς, τοὺς δικαστάς** as distinct from himself *τὸν σύμβουλον*.—8. **ἀπό**. *Starting from, i. e. in: διανοίας spirit*.—9. **τὰ μὲν**. *But to judge the affairs (lit. contracts, συμβόλαια) of every-day life, on the one hand with a view (σκοποῦντας) to special laws and acts, but public measures on the other hand looking only, etc.* **συμβόλαια** is object of *κρίνειν*.—**ιδίῳν**. *Special*. In ordinary cases, civil or criminal, they would be bound to form their decision according to the definite statutes of their code, applied to each individual case. But in a political trial they might frame their sentence according to traditional spirit and precedent, rather than by any letter of written law. The orator's drift is clear. He wishes the jury to overlook the formal illegality of Ctesiphon's proposal, in consideration of the great political services which that proposal was intended to remunerate.—12. **ἀποβλέποντας**. Observe the force of the preposition, *looking back, or looking away*. **ἀξιώματα**=*worthy examples*, strictly, the obligations imposed by the illustrious deeds of their ancestors. Compare Whiston's note.—13. **τῇ βακτηρίᾳ**. *His staff and his ticket, i. e. his official paraphernalia*. On the *staff* which each dicast received was painted the letter indicating the court in which he was to serve. The *ticket* he delivered to the prytanes after the sitting, and thus received his fee of three obols. See Dic. of Ant., Dicastery, and Dicasts.

211, 212. BUT I HAVE BEEN DIGRESSING AND MUST NOW SUPPLY AN OMISSION. YOU MUST TAKE THE LETTER WE WROTE AS YOUR AMBASSADORS AT THEBES. ÆSCHINES GIVES ME NO CREDIT FOR OUR DIPLOMATIC SUCCESSES, BUT ONLY FOR OUR MILITARY FAILURES. YET WITH THE LATTER I HAD NOTHING TO DO, AND WITH THE FORMER EVERYTHING.

211. 17. **Ἀλλὰ γάρ**. 42. *Ὅν ἔστιν ᾧ* see Madv., 102, b., and Liddell and Scott's Lex.—19. **ὀπόθεν**, i. e. *ἐκεῖσε ὀπόθεν* 66.—22. **τῶν ἄλλων**. Puta Ænianorum, Dolopum, Phthiotarum, Ætolorum. DISSSEN.—23. **πρέσβεις**. See Plutarch's *Vita Demosth.*, c. 18. Amyntas and Clearchus are named as the Macedonian envoys.—25. **νῦν**. At this present moment (while the story told at the time of the embassy was very different). He appeals to the records of the actual period to confirm him.—212. 27. **καίτοι**. *And, I assure you, my opponent has adopted such an extravagance of calumny that, if, on the one*

hand, any of our objects was achieved, he says it was thanks to opportunity not to me. Cf. Æsch. c. Ctes., 141, p. 76, l. 1. On ὥστε with the indicative see 33, 120, and on ἐτέρω see 85. ὥς adds emphasis=*quite otherwise*, strictly as different as possible. C. 711; Cu. 631; H. 664. — P. 76, l. 6. **συναίτιος**, i. e. he does not give me credit for even a share in the good, while he imputes to me the whole of the evil. **συναίτίας** 64. Render: *so it seems I, the counsellor and orator, am judged by him to have no share in any of the results of argument and counsel, but to be the sole author of the misfortunes that have attended our arms and strategy.* — **ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ**. At this point the forgers' ingenuity or perseverance would seem to have been exhausted, and to the great relief both of reader and commentator we are troubled with no more spurious documents in the rest of the oration.

213–217. THE ASSEMBLY WAS HELD: THE ALLIES OF PHILIP SPOKE FIRST; WE MADE OUR REPLY. I NEED NOT WEARY YOU WITH DETAILS. THEBES ACCEPTED OUR PROPOSAL AND CALLED UPON US TO AID THEM. THEY COULD NOT HAVE PAID US A HIGHER HONOR. AND WE ACTED WITH THEBES THROUGHOUT THE CAMPAIGN IN A MANNER WHICH SHOWED WE DESERVED THAT HONOR. REMEMBER OUR PUBLIC REJOICINGS AT THE TIME. DID ÆSCHINES TAKE HIS PART IN THEM? THEN WHAT DOES HE MEAN BY HIS PRESENT DENUNCIATION? DID HE TAKE NO PART IN THOSE PUBLIC REJOICINGS? THEN WHAT A WRETCH HE MUST HAVE BEEN!

213. 11. **ἐποίησαντο**, sc. the Thebans. — 12. **ἐκείνους**, the ambassadors of Philip and the Thessalians. — 16. **τὸ δ' οὖν**. *And in fine they required them to show their gratitude for the benefits they had received from Philip and to take satisfaction for the wrongs which they had received from you.* **κεφάλαιον** is another adverbial accusative, Madv., 31, d; Cr. 483; Cu. 404; G. 160; H. 552. The imperfect **ἤξιουν** refers to the whole tenor of their speech; as also **ἐδημηγόρουν** above. — 19. **ὁποτέρως**. They demanded either that Thebes should join in the invasion, or at any rate that they should give the invaders free passage. They promised a share of the spoil in either event, and threatened the devastation of Bœotia in any other. — **διέντας** and **συνεμβάλοντας** agree with **αὐτοὺς** in the previous line and denote the two ways, either of which they (the Thebans) may choose. — 21. **ἐκ τῆς**, i. e. *plundered from*. Constructio pregnans. C. 704; H. 618, a. — 23. **ἐκ δὲ ὧν...ἔφασαν**, *while as the result of what they said we should advise, property in Bœotia would be plundered by the war.* **τὰ...διαρπασθη-**



*σόμενα*, like *βοσκήματα...ἥξοντα* is governed by *ἐδείκνυσαν*. — P. 77, l. 1. *συντέλονται*. All aiming at the same result. — 214. 2. *ἀντέπομεν*. Absent from Σ, but found in all the other MSS. Its ellipsis, though quite grammatical, would not at all improve the sentence. — *ἐγὼ μὲν*. *I myself would give my very life to repeat*. The transposition of *τοῦ βίου* is for the sake of emphasis. The meanings of *ἀντί* seem to pass through the following steps, (1) over against, (2) a counterbalance, (3) an equivalent, (4) a substitute. — 4. *ὑμᾶς* with *δέδοικα* is emphatic for *ὑμεῖς* with *νομίσητε*. *μή* is *lest* governing *νομίσητε*. — 5. *κατακλυσμόν*. *A deluge had swept over the events*, i. e. all sign and trace of them had been obliterated: on *ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ* see *Madv.*, 139, c; C. 622, d; H. 754. — 215. 9. *Μετὰ ταῦτα*. With this we must compare throughout the corresponding passage of Æschines (pp. 73–75) where he represents that the Thebans begged for the aid and alliance of Athens, simply under the pressure of their alarm at the seizure of Elatea by Philip, and prior to “a single syllable of any decree being proposed by Demosthenes.” The Athenians then having marched in force to Thebes, Philip, according to Æschines, was afraid to continue the war, and wished to make peace. So, he says, did the Thebans: and the latter requested the Athenian troops to retire to Athens, and the Ecclesia to be convened for discussion of Philip’s proposal. It was only at this later Ecclesia, says Æschines, that Demosthenes urged the policy of carrying on the war against Philip, and over-persuaded the Thebans into the same course, for fear the latter should make peace independently, and get pay from Philip for doing so, from which pecuniary benefit Demosthenes would be excluded. Perhaps Æschines believed all this when he said it; the historical records of the period seem to have been in the greatest confusion; and it was impossible to prove distinctly why or when Thebes joined with Athens against Macedon. But the account given by Demosthenes in the description of that Ecclesia (169 sq. *Ἐσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν*) is so circumstantial, and appeals so directly to the memory of those amongst his hearers who had been present on that great occasion, that if he had not been speaking the truth, exposure and ruin must have followed. In explanation of this confusion in the facts and of the discrepancy between the orators, it will be remembered that eight years had elapsed between the battle of Chæronea and the delivery of the speeches on the Crown, and a still longer interval (it is not known how long) between that battle and the revised edition



of Æschines's speech. Whiston agrees with Dissen that Æschines's statements, so far as they differ from the narrative of Demosthenes, were inserted in the revised edition, and are "manifesta mendacia." — 10. ἐξῆτε, ἐβοηθείτε. This simple asyndeton is much admired by Bremi, as descriptive of rapid action. — 11. ὀπλιτῶν. The *Theban* infantry and cavalry were encamped outside, while the Athenian forces were admitted within the walls. The compliment to Athens is obvious, and the nature of the confidence so displayed receives illustration from the sentence *eis τὰς οἰκίας...τιμιώτατα*. Dissen objects to this the absence of the proper pronouns, *their* and *your*. But the articles take the place of the pronouns and emphasize the distinction which is evident from the connection. Render: *while their infantry and their cavalry were without the walls they received your army*, etc. — 15. πᾶσιν. *In the eyes of all mankind*. Dative of relation, *Madv., G. S.*, 35. — καθ'. *Upon*. A good example of *κατά* without its sense of hostility preceding the genitive case (cf. 17 note). So p. 135, μέγιστον καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον. — 20. πᾶσι δ'. The particle *δέ* connects the sentence *καίτοι...ἔδειξαν* with the sentence *καὶ γάρ...Φιλίππου*. As examples of *δέ* standing further on in a sentence than its usual place of second word the *Lexica* all quote *Soph., El.*, 1117; *Xen., Hellen.*, V., 2, 37, etc. The translation of *καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ* thus becomes, *both with them and*. — 22. σωφροσύνης. *Showed they had confidence in you, as regarded your morality*. The Greek is literally *belief in morality as regarded you*. No single English word can render *σωφροσύνης*. Whiston translates it *self-command*, and Kennedy *good behavior*. The connection shows that *self-command* is especially intended, although something more is also comprehended. — 24. ἐφάνησαν, *were shown* by the facts in the case. — 216. P. 78, l. 3. μάχας. Accusative of time, *Madv., G. S.*, 30. Others take it as a sort of cognate accusative, *Madv.*, 26, a; C. 477; Cu. 400; G. 159; H. 547. — τοῦ ποταμοῦ. The Cephissus. The first battle was fought in the valley of the Cephissus between Elatea and Thebes. — 4. χειμερινήν. *In the winter*, according to Grote, who supposes a ten months' interval between October of 339 and August of 338. On the other hand Thirlwall prefers to render *of the storm*. The *Lexica* all concur in asserting that this latter idea would in Attic be usually expressed by *χειμέριος*, not by *χειμερινός*, which generally beyond question means *in the winter*. In the great obscurity of the history concerning this period, it is quite impossible to settle such minor details with precision. I prefer the

view of Grote, as being the best in regard to the language here, and also quite consistent with the other history. But I cordially agree with Reiske also when he says, “hæc tanti non est quærere. Quod sciri nequit de eo ne quærendum quidem est. Multa sunt in vetustis auctoribus obscura quæ nulla vis ingenii, nulla investigandi industria, nulla dies unquam aperiet.”—217. 9. ζήλου. *Bliss.* οἷας λατρείας ἀνθ’ ὅσου ζήλου τρέφει. *Soph., Aj.*, 503. So Holmes. Better, *emulation*, or *admiration*.—13. ἐξητάζετο. *Was proved to have been along with the rest*, i. e. taking a share in the general rejoicings. —14. μᾶλλον... ὅσια, or, rather, *does he not act impiously even*. —15. εἰ ὦν... θεούς, *if what he himself called the gods to witness as being most excellent, this he now expects you to condemn as not most excellent, you who have sworn by those gods*, sc. the very gods to whom he then appealed for just the opposite. —μάρτυρας, i. e. by means of the θυσίαι καὶ πομπαί 17. He means that nothing can more effectively put a national success on record than the circumstance that it has been the subject of national thanksgiving to heaven. —16. ψηφίσασθαι, i. e. by condemning Ctesiphon they would condemn the orator’s policy and its results, among which would be included the particular triumph referred to here. —17. ὁμωμοκότας. τὸν ὄρκον 2. —εἰ δὲ μή. The dilemma is merely rhetorical, as Lord Brougham well observes; Æschines could easily have answered that he saw the fallacy of those rejoicings, though no one else at Athens did so; that therefore he declined to share them, and stayed at home in seclusion and sorrow. At the same time, his Lordship admires the rhetorical excellence of the dilemma and the exquisite beauty and force of the passage.

218. SO THEBES AND OURSELVES WERE REJOICING AND GIVING THANKS: AND PHILIP WAS IN A STATE OF ALARM AS HIS LETTERS PROVE. THIS WAS ALL MY DOING.

218. 21. ἡμεν ἐν: *We were full of thanksgivings*. The preposition of place introduces the *status in quo*. —22. νομίζειν. *Belief*: the awkwardness of the construction is redeemed by its antithetic success. —περιστήκει. *It had come about that those who seemed likely to need succor, owing to the conduct of these men, were themselves sending succor to others in consequence of following my counsels*. There is no difference of translation between ἀφ’ ὧν and ἐξ ὧν in this sentence; the change is merely for variety. —25. ἡφίει. The double augment is peculiarly Attic. “In Demosthene id deesse nusquam notavi.” BREMI.—φωνάς. *Strong expressions*. Cf. πᾶσαν, τὸ λεγόμενον, φωνῶν ἵεντα,

Plato, 890, D, 530, etc. Cf. 222. — P. 79, l. 4. **συνέχεια**. *Persistence; pertinacity*. From the context, which is sarcastic, we must rather take the word in its bad sense. — **πλάνοι**. *Roivings*, i. e. *πρεσβεῖαι*: the derisive tone is very marked both in this and the two next phrases. — **ταλαιπωρία**. *Tribulations*. — **τὰ πολλά**. *Those numerous*. Cf. *τὰ πολλά γράμματα*, Act. Apost., xxvi., 24, where the same irony is underlying. These nominatives are the subjects of *ἀπειργάσατο*, which is singular to agree with the neuter plural *ψηφίσματα*, and to sum them all up together = *what it all accomplished*.

219–221. ATHENS HAS HAD A HOST OF GOOD STATESMEN BESIDES MYSELF, BUT NEVER ONE WHO WORKED SO HARD OR DEVOTED HIMSELF SO ENTIRELY. NOT THAT I HAD ANY EXTRAVAGANT OPINION OF MY OWN POWER. BUT I THOUGHT THE CRISIS EXACTED THE UTMOST PERSONAL EFFORTS, AND THAT NO ONE'S PERSONAL EFFORTS COULD BE MORE EFFECTUAL THAN MINE.

219. 7. **πολλοί**. Compare the exactly parallel passage, p. 436, l. 12, *De F. L.* — **ἐκεῖνος**, *that famous*. C. 542, b. — 9. **Καλλίστρατος**. *μετὰ Καλλίστρατον τὸν Ἀφιδναῖον τῶν ἄλλων μάλιστα εἰπεῖν δύνασθαι*, Æschin., p. 44 (*med.*). Mentioned as an exile endeavoring to return illegally in Demosthenes *adv. Polycl.*, p. 1221. Honorably mentioned by the orator, pp. 1187, 1353, 1359, if those orations are genuine. Cf. Plut., *Dem.*, 5. Libanius (*Vit. Dem.*, p. 503) says that the orator when a boy heard Callistratus speak on the Oropus question, and thence conceived his own passion for rhetoric and public speaking. — **Ἀριστοφών**, 70. — **Κέφαλος**. A leading statesman in the political crisis of 403. Although so prominent, he seems to have never committed himself, 351. Æschines speaks of him with enthusiasm, p. 81. So does Dinarchus, pp. 95, 100. — **Θρασύβουλος**. The hero of the revolution in 403. Dinarch., p. 93 (*med.*); Iys., p. 124; Isocr., p. 375 (*fin.*); Æschin., p. 82, etc. All the Attic orators concur in the praises of this Θρασύβουλος (*Δύκου Στεριεύς*). There were four Thrasybuli in the same period, but no other of the same reputation. We need have no doubt as to which of the four the orator speaks of here. — 11. **εἰς οὐδέν**. Closely connected with *διὰ παντός*. Whatever movement they took up they did not (so the orator alleges) persevere in supporting it through every phase and department, as he professes to have done himself. — 12. **ἀν ἐπρεσβευσεν**. Frequentative: like our idiom *would not*, though literally *would not have*. Cf. Aristoph., *Pax*, 640–644. — 13. **ὑπέλειπε**. *Al-*

*ways reserved for himself.* The ὑπ- describes the *underlying* motive. The force of the imperfect is here strongly marked. A parallel expression is in Æschin., p. 41 (*fin.*), αὐτοῖς κατέλιπον τὴν ἀναφοράν. — 14. ἅμα μὲν...ἅμα δ', at once...and, or not only...but also. — ἀναφοράν. *Resource, something to fall back upon.* — 220. 17. οὕτως. *So thoroughly:* referring, I think, to the whole sentence, though Whiston limits it to μέγαν, as in 163. — 19. χώραν. *To allow any place or even forethought for my personal safety.* χώρα seems to be very rare in this sense. The Lexica only quote Aristot., *H. A.*, X., 3. 4, χώραν παρέχειν (*locum dare*), which is not an exact parallel. The orator means that he did not give his personal safety a thought, or reserve himself any avenue of escape from the consequences; that he risked all without exception. — 20. ἀγαπητόν. *Must be thankful if one could do one's duty without a single omission*, i. e. man's sole aim at that crisis should have been to do his duty thoroughly, reckless of personal considerations, and then to take the consequences be they what they might. And a man should have been thankful even to have the opportunity of so doing his duty; whatever the personal peril which might be involved in the deed. Others take ἀ δεῖ πράξειν *to meet his fate*, but, I think, not so well. — 221. 22. τυχόν. *It may be; perhaps.* Adv. Acc., Madvig, *G. S.*, 182; C. 483; Cu. 401; G. 160; H. 552. — 23. μήτε γράφοντ', κ. τ. λ. The participle here and in the following clauses denotes the condition: *neither if he proposed measures would any one propose them better, nor if he tried* (imperf., C. 594; Cu. 489; G. 200; H. 702) *to execute them*, etc. βέλτιον is to be supplied with πράξειαι. — 26. ἔταπτον. *I always in everything put myself at the post.* For ἐν πᾶσι we should rather expect ἐπὶ πάντα according to the usual construction of τάσσειν: but the sense is not altered, for we supply the ἐπὶ out of the proleptic ἐν.

222. SUCH WAS THE RESULT OF MY POLICY. FOR THIS IT WAS RIGHTLY PROPOSED THAT I SHOULD RECEIVE A CROWN.

P. 80, l. 1. Εἰς ταῦτα, *to such a state.* — 2. ταύτην τὴν φωνήν, *such the voice he uttered, although accustomed to vaunt.* The participle is concessive. The middle voice expresses the personal motive from which boasting must proceed. — 4. ἐστεφανούμην. *Was to be crowned.* On this use of the imperfect, see Madv., *G. S.*, 113, r. 1; C. 594; Cu. 489; G. 200, N. 2; H. 702. — 5. γραψάμενος. *Who indicted the proposers* (Demomeles and Hyperides; see 82, δευτέρων). The full phrase would have been ὁ γραψάμενος τὸν Δ. καὶ τὸν Ὑ. παρανόμων.

On γραφή, cf. 3, note ἐλεῖν. — 6. Διώνδας. Διώνδου μαρία, 249. — τὸ μέρος. 103, and 82 ἀτιμώσαντες. — 7. ἀποπεφευγότα. Which were then legally confirmed, lit. acquitted. He means that they passed through the ordeal of a public prosecution against their proposer, and as he was acquitted, their justice and correctness were thoroughly vindicated.

223-226. WHY DID NOT ÆSCHINES OPPOSE THIS DECREE WHICH WAS IDENTICAL IN TERMS WITH CTESIPHON'S? BECAUSE HE KNEW HE HAD NO CHANCE OF GETTING A VERDICT ON THE FACTS AS LONG AS THE FACTS WERE FRESH IN PEOPLE'S MEMORIES. HIS ONLY CHANCE WAS TO WAIT TILL THE FACTS HAD BEEN FORGOTTEN, AND THEN TO CONCOCT A FRAUDULENT PROSECUTION DEPENDING ON QUIBBLES OF LAW AND RHETORIC.

223. 13. τότε. For the date, see 82. — 15. μᾶλλον εἰκότως, with more reason. — 16. τόνδ'. My friend here: deictic. So τῷδε = my client. He means, that to prosecute Ctesiphon, after omitting to prosecute those who had done exactly the same already, was an irrational proceeding. Whether Ctesiphon's act was right or wrong, at all events it had precedents. If he was to be prosecuted now, why were not the former offenders prosecuted in their time? — 224. 17. ἀνενεγκεῖν is exactly the Latin *referre ad* and our own *refer to* (as precedents). — γνώσεις. The decision pronounced in the Demomeles case. No other is meant. The plural only introduces the idea of the abstract. — 18. αὐτόν. If Demomeles was prosecuted, at any rate it was not Æschines who was the prosecutor. Why does he bring an action now, whereas he did not bring any then? — 20.πραχθέντων. Settled: like our colloquial use of *done*. He claims that the verdict on his policy was pronounced once for all in the Demomeles case, and that the question cannot be reopened legally. — 21. αὐτό. The actual fact would have been tried *per se*, before it had contracted any of these precedents. The bare question, whether Demosthenes was a good statesman or not, would have been put before the court, without legal or rhetorical complication. — 225. 23. οὐκ ἦν. There was no opportunity or it was not possible. — P. 81, l. 1. ἐκλέξαντα has for its object the sentence ἃ μήτε — ῥηθῆναι; but this sentence represents also the cognate accusative after διαβάλλειν. Translate: *picking out what no one knew before, nor supposed would be said to-day, to calumniate them, by changing dates and substituting false motives for action instead of the true ones, to appear to speak to the purpose.* — τι λέγειν is the opposite of οὐδὲν λέγειν. Compare our *something to say* and *nothing to say*. Plato is particularly

fond of these phrases. — 3. **προφάσεις**. Very nearly *motives* in our common use of that word. — 5. **πεπραγμένοις** is the dative of the remote object after **μεταθέντα**. — 226. 6. **τῆς ἀληθείας**. 17 first note. The article adds to the emphasis: *the truth par excellence*; i. e. *real truth, absolute truth*: **μόνον οὐκ**, *only not* = *all but, almost*. — 9. **παρ' αὐτά**, 13, note, s. v. — 10. **ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα**. *An oratorical arena*. Whiston aptly cites Thucyd., III., 67. — 12. **λόγου κρίσιν**. *A decision on power of speaking*. This objective use of the genitive is well illustrated in Madv., *G. S.*, 48.

227-231. I MUST NOTICE HERE AN INGENIOUS SOPHISM OF MY OPPONENT'S. HE SAYS YOU OUGHT TO CAST UP MY SERVICES AND REWARDS ARITHMETICALLY, AND SEE WHETHER THERE IS ANY BALANCE IN MY FAVOR; OR RATHER, HE SAYS, YOU WILL SEE THERE IS NONE. NOW I DENY ALTOGETHER THAT PUBLIC SERVICES CAN BE TREATED LIKE SUMS IN ARITHMETIC. BUT YOU MAY SET FACTS AGAINST FACTS, SET WHAT HAPPENED AGAINST WHAT WOULD HAVE HAPPENED HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR ME. I AM QUITE CONTENT TO ABIDE BY THAT CALCULATION.

227. 14. **φησί**. It is indispensable to quote in full the passage of Æschines here referred to, viz., p. 62, 59: **εἰ δέ τιςιν ὑμῶν ἐξαίφνης ἀκούσασιν ἀπιστότερος προσπέπτωκεν ὁ τοιοῦτος λόγος, ἐκείνως τὴν ὑπὸλοιπον ποιήσασθε ἀκράσιν, ὥσπερ ὅταν περὶ χρημάτων ἀνηλωμένων διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου καθεζώμεθα ἐπὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς. ἐρχόμεθα δὴ πον ψευδεῖς οἴκοθεν ἐνίστε δόξας ἔχοντες κατὰ τῶν λογισμῶν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπειδὴ ὁ λόγος συγκεφαλαιωθῇ, οὐδεὶς ὑμῶν ἐστὶν οὕτω δύσκολος τὴν φύσιν ὅστις οὐκ ἀπέρχεται τοῦθ' ὁμολογήσας καὶ ἐπινεύσας ἀληθὲς εἶναι ὃ τι ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ λογισμὸς αἰρῇ. οὕτω καὶ νῦν τὴν ἀκράσιν ποιήσασθε.** — 15. **οἴκοθεν... ἀμελήσαι**, *to forget the opinion concerning us which you have brought from home*. The phraseology, it will be seen, is borrowed from Æschines. — 17. **λογίζισθε**. *Cast up accounts under the impression that a man has a balance*. The commentators differ as to the question whether the illustration is drawn from the auditing of official accounts by the **λογισταί**, or from the settling of accounts in trade and at the bank; Holmes, Kennedy, and others insisting on the former, Dissen, Whiston, etc., preferring the latter view. Perhaps the passage in Æschines favors the former. But the language of Demosthenes, **οἰόμενοι περιεῖναι χρήματα**, certainly accords better with the latter. Perhaps we may say with Westermann that while Æschines seems to have in mind the auditing of official accounts, Demosthenes makes it *general*. — **καθαρά... ψήφοι**,



*if the sums are even*: i. e. if the amount on the credit side is exactly the same as the amount on the debit. The expression arose from a primitive method of keeping accounts with pebbles (ψῆφοι), literally, *if the pebbles are clear*, with no balance left on either side. — 18. συγχωρεῖτε, *you acquiesce in that result*; the acquiescence involves *concession* of the previous idea that there was a balance in hand, and *concurrence* in the correctness of the accounts examined. The verb συγχωρεῖν combines both these meanings. — οὕτω, i. e. if they found no balance in the orator's favor, however much they expected beforehand to find it, Æschines had begged they would act upon that finding, not upon their previous and misconceived idea. προσθέσθαι depends on προσήκειν and means *consent to, accept*. — 228. 22. ὑπάρχειν, *that we are, to begin with* (§ 1), *thoroughly convinced in ourselves* (perfect tense, middle voice). ὑπαρχούσης which follows is exactly our *pre-existing*. — 24. οὐ γὰρ ἄν, 47, second note. — 229. 26. οὐ δίκαια, 18, s. v. — P. 82, l. 1. τιθείς. *Not by casting accounts*, literally, playing pebbles. The ἀβάκιον contained a number of parallel columns, the extreme right-hand column being reserved for the units, the first on its left for the tens, the next for the hundreds, and so on. Each number in each column would be represented by actually placing on the board in that column the same number of pebbles; for a debit and credit account two ἀβάκια would be required. If their columns tallied exactly, then the ψῆφοι were καθαροί. This was usually ascertained by examining the two ἀβάκια side by side, and column by column, and taking off (ἀντανελεῖν) a pebble from the one ἀβάκιον for every pebble in the other. See Smith, Dic. Ant., for a diagram of the Abacus. — οὐ γὰρ...λογισμός, *for this mode of reckoning*, sc. the arithmetical, *does not belong to public affairs*. — 230. 10. ἡμᾶς, the object of φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν, is placed before them for emphasis. So ἐν εἰρήνῃ, the predicate of εἶναι, precedes even the subject of the verb for the same reason. — 12. ἐκ θαλάττης. *At sea* is exactly the equivalent of this proleptic use. — 231. 15. ψῆφοις. *Sums in arithmetic*. His retort relies on the technical character of the method for casting up accounts. Facts, *deeds*, cannot, like pebbles, be taken up and laid aside. — 16. ἀντανελεῖν, *or that we ought to clear these off*, that is, balance them against our misfortunes. — 18. προστίθημι. This arithmetical term is, of course, introduced *avec intention* = *add to the account*. — 21. φιλανθρωπίας. The *clemency* with which Philip treated Athens after the battle of Chæronea was in marked contrast with his *severity*



to others, particularly the Thebans. Demades writes (Fragm. 1), ἔγραψα καὶ Φιλίππῳ τιμὰς· οὐκ ἀρνοῦμαι. δισχιλίους γὰρ αἰχμαλώτους ἀνέν λύτρων, καὶ χίλια πολιτῶν σώματα χωρὶς κήρυτος, καὶ τὸν Ἰσρωπὸν ἀνεν πρεσβείας λαβὼν ὑμῖν ταῦτ' ἔγραψα. — 22. περιβαλλόμενος, *investing himself with*. The phrase is common enough, but meant to be sarcastic here, as though Philip *draped* himself in royal and lordly generosity to produce a *fictitious* impression on the mind of Greece. — καλῶς ποιοῦντες. *Fortunæ beneficio: happily*. The distinction between this and καλῶς πράττοντες is illustrated in the notorious passage, p. 490 (*med.*), ὅτε δ' ὑμεῖς, καλῶς ποιοῦντες, καὶ κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις καὶ κατὰ τὰλλα πάντα ἀμεινον ἐκείνων πράττετε.

232, 233. AND REALLY I MUST NOTICE HOW UNWORTHY IT WAS OF MY OPPONENT TO MIMIC MY LANGUAGE AND GESTURES. HIS BUSINESS WAS TO EXAMINE OUR PUBLIC HISTORY: AS HE HAS NOT DONE SO, I SHALL DO IT MYSELF.

232. 25. συκοφαντεῖν may be paraphrased here *to libel*. Cf. 118, 188. So below 233 = *to make a wilfully false and censorious accusation*. — 27. παραδείγματα πλάττων, *fabricating illustrations*, such, for example, as that of striking the balance by counters. Compare Whiston, in loc. — P. 83, l. 1. μιμούμενος. Æschin., p. 77 (*med.*), οὐ μέμνησθε αὐτοῦ τὰ μιὰρὰ ῥήματα...καὶ πάλιν ὅτε κύκλῳ περιδιῶν σσαντὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἔλεγε, κ. τ. λ. — παρὰ τοῦτο. *All in consequence of this, (don't you see?) the affairs of Greece have turned out as they have*. — εἰ, *if*, instead of ὅτι, *because*. Madv., G. S., 75. Cf. Cic., *Orat.*, VIII. — 233. 5. ἂν ἐσκόπει continues the apodosis: *would have considered in detail* (imperfect). — ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων, *in view of the simple facts, or on the basis of them*. Whiston renders: *keeping to them*. — 6. εἰσῆεν. *Entered into public business*, cf. 60. — 11. πέφευγας. *Have shirked*, i. e. avoided putting the matter on its true issue. Cf. 116.

234-239. OUR STRENGTH CONSISTED OF THE MINOR ISLANDS ONLY, BESIDES OUR HOME RESOURCES. ALL OUR NEIGHBOR STATES WERE HOSTILE. PHILIP ON THE OTHER HAND POSSESSED DESPOTIC POWER, TRAINED ARMIES, AMPLE MONEY, AND INDEPENDENT PERSONAL ACTION. WHAT HAD I, HIS ANTAGONIST? NOTHING, EXCEPT THE PRIVILEGE OF SPEAKING, AND THAT HIS ATHENIAN SUPPORTERS SHARED ALONG WITH ME. STILL, EVEN THUS, I GOT YOU ALLIES, ARMIES, FUNDS. IT IS ABSURD TO DISCUSS NOW WHETHER THOSE FUNDS WERE RAISED IN FAIR PROPORTIONS FROM EACH CONTRIBUTING STATE. WE NEVER OURSELVES PUT THAT

QUESTION ABOUT OUR SHARE IN SALAMIS. SMALL THANKS WILL ANY OF THESE STATES GIVE YOU FOR BRINGING THIS CHARGE AGAINST ME NOW, INSTEAD OF WATCHING THE CASE FOR THEIR INTERESTS AT THE ACTUAL TIME.

234. 15. **Χίος**. This and the other two islands had won their liberty in the Social War of 355. — 16. **σύνταξιν**. A subscription. This term was invented as a euphemism for φόρος tribute; see Harpocration, s. v. The subscription here alluded to was paid under the arrangement of the new confederation formed in 377. Cf. Dinarch., p. 92. These changes of the relation between Athens and the islands are fully described in Grote. See also Bückh, *Pub. Econ.*, II., 162. — 17. **προεξειλεγμένα**. Collected beforehand, anticipated. So Xenophon (*Æcon.*, IV., 9) uses ἐκλέγουσιν. DISSEN. — 20. **οὔτοι**. Æschines and his associates. — 21. **ἔχθρας...ἐγγυτέρω**. More enmity than friendship. C. 445; Cu. 415; G. 182; H. 589. — 25. **πῶς**, sc. ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα, supplied from above. Concise and pointed. — 235. 26. **αὐτοκράτωρ**. Compare *Olynth.*, I., p. 10. — 27. **ὄπλα...αἰέ**. Compare *Ol.*, II., p. 24; *Phil.*, III., p. 124. — P. 84, l. 4. **οὐδ' ὑπὸ, τ. σ. κ.** These words are only found in one MS.; but otherwise there is nothing in them which would suggest their being spurious. On the contrary, they are quite Demosthenic and add to the force of the sentence. — 6. **ἄπλως...πάντων**, absolutely master, leader, lord of all. The climax is made more lively and forcible by the asyndeton. — 236. 9. **οὐ μόνου**. My only privilege. The force of μετέιχον cannot be translated; he means that his privilege, such as it was, was not exclusively his own, but shared to the same extent by Philip's Athenian supporters. — 10. **προυτίθεθ'**. You extended. Thucyd., VI., 14. — 13. **ἦν...τύχοι**. On whatever pretext each (of their successes) might happen. — 14. **ἀπῆτε**, sc. ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, in these points you took counsel in the interests of your enemy and so went home. WHISTON. — 237. 14. **ἐκ**. Proleptic: we should say under; these defeats were not the cause of his success, but he had to start in each instance out of the positions into which they had sunk him. — 17. **μύριοι**. The same numbers are given by Plutarch, *Vit. Demosth.*, 5. Their insignificance for purposes of modern warfare is sufficiently striking. — 18. **ἀνευ**. Independently of the national forces of the several states, i. e. these foreign mercenaries were an extra army altogether. Each state had its own army of native troops as well. — 20. **συντέλειαν**. Joint-contribution; a much more emphatic term than σύνταξις, 234; but the συντέλεια

was voluntary, the other compulsory. — 238. 20. λέγεις. Æschines, p. 74, τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλωμάτων τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη ὑμῖν ἀνέθηκεν οἷς ἦσαν ἀπωτέρω οἱ κίνδυνοι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον μέρος Θηβαίος. — τὰ πρὸς...δί-  
 καια, i. e. what would have been just on the part of Athens to Thebes,  
 etc., in reference to their respective shares of the expense. — 22.  
 Βυζαντίους. Æschin., p. 90. — Εὐβοέας, pp. 66, 67. But nothing  
 in Æschines' speech corresponds to this exactly. — 24. ἐκείνων.  
*Those famous.* The allusion is, of course, to the battle of Salamis.  
 Cf. Æsch., *Pers*, 341; Herod., VIII., 48; Thueyd., I., 74. — 25.  
 τάς. "Where parts of a whole are stated in numbers, the article is  
 sometimes prefixed to the numeral (to denote the definiteness of the  
 relation)." Madv., *G. S.*, 11, r. 6. — διακοσίας. It is sufficiently  
 amusing that in the speech *de Symm.*, p. 186, the orator states this  
 number at one hundred. It suits his argument there to depreciate;  
 not so here. The number of the whole fleet is stated by Æschylus as  
 300, by Herodotus as 378, by Thucydides as 400. The Athenian  
 contingent is stated by Thucydides to have been two thirds; and by  
 Herodotus to have been 180 ships. Compare Whiston's note *de*  
*Symm.*, 35. — 26. ἐλαττοῦσθαι. *To be defrauded*, i. e. made to do and  
 to pay more than the fair share. — P. 85, l. 2. εἰ, *that*, Madv., *G. S.*,  
 194, c; cf. note, 232. — 239. 4. εἶτα κενάς, κ. τ. λ., *and after all they*  
*are but poor favors which you are conferring on those persons by calum-*  
*niating me.* WHISTON. — 5. τουτοισί. Θηβαίοις, Βυζαντίοις, Εὐβοέσι,  
 238. If they had been defrauded (as alleged), it would be but a poor  
 satisfaction to them to see Demosthenes libelled; they would have  
 been more thankful for a policy maintained at the time, to save them  
 from being defrauded. — 8. παρά. Of time: as in 10 (*fin.*), 13  
 (*med.*), etc., *at the moment of*, — implying that there was no leisure for  
 deliberation, or discussion of abstract right; the action had to be in-  
 stantaneous on the emergency: they had to secure, not all they  
 wanted, but all they could get. Whiston, however, takes παρά as in  
 232 = *under the existing circumstances.* — ὅσα. This word is definite  
 with ἐβουλόμεθα and hence takes the indicative, while with δόλη it is  
 indefinite and so takes the optative. Compare Whiston's note. —  
 10. ὁ ἀντωνούμενος, *he that was bidding against us.* Philip was ready  
 to buy up for himself any allies whom the Athenians alienated from  
 themselves. — 11. καὶ...προσδεξόμενος καὶ...προσθήσων, *not only to*  
*receive them, but also to pay them money into the bargain.*

240–243. SUPPOSING I HAD HESITATED IN DOING WHAT I DID,

HOW IMMEDIATELY PHILIP WOULD HAVE GAINED ALL: AND THEN WOULD NOT MY OPPONENTS HAVE LAID THE BLAME ON ME? THERE IS NOTHING SO VILE AS SLANDER. ÆSCHINES OF ALL SLANDERERS IS VILEST, BASE IN THE WHOLE OF HIS LIFE AND HABITS, AND WITH TALENTS UTTERLY PERVERTED TO WORK YOUR RUIN.

240. 14. τί ἄν, sc. ποιεῖν below: a reduplicated question, the full phrase being reserved for the end of the sentence, where the ἄν is repeated. — ἀκριβολογούμενου = λέγοντος τὰ δίκαια, διαλεγόμενου περὶ τῶν ἰσων. 238. Whiston: *while I was refining about these points.* — 19. ἐξεδόθησαν. *Given up:* here, of an opportunity thrown away, not of a right surrendered, nor of a trust betrayed. — 241. 20. τοῦ μέν. We must supply inverted commas from here to γέγονεν, as the next sentence explains, i. e. *and then*, would they not have said, "*he has got the command of the Hellespont by means of the Byzantines*"? etc. — 21. σιτοπομπίας, 87. The same region in the southeast of Russia is now a great corn-growing country. — 24. ὀρμωμένων, 71, τὴν Εὐβοίαν κατασκευάζων ἐπιτείχισμα. — 25. καὶ...γε = *yes, and.* — 242. 26. πο- νηρόν. *A vile thing:* the neuters are contemptuous. The same strain of vituperation is kept up in the diminutive τὰνθρώπιον, *monkey.* — P. 86, l. 1. φύσει κίναδος. *A born beast.* The meaning of κίναδος is not limited to *fox*, as the Lexica abundantly testify. καί = *even.* — 2. ἐξ ἀρχῆς. *Never in his life.* The idiom cannot be rendered literally. — 3. αὐτοτραγικός. *The ideal Tragedy-baboon.* The form αὐτοτραγικός is after the Platonic αὐτοαληθές, αὐτοαγαθόν κ. τ. λ., the eternal archetype (ιδέα) as distinct from the human counterpart (εἶδος). — ἄρουραῖος. *Enomaios of the country.* The epithet is easily understood as referring to rough and rude country theatricals in the demes adjoining the city. ἐν Κολλυτιῷ Οἰνύμαον, 180. — 4. παρόσημος. *Counterfeit*, lit. *mis-stamped.* The adjective is a common epithet of bad money, p. 766, l. 6 (cited by Harpocration), but signifies a *counterfeit* in any and every sense. No true and genuine orator, he means, would have so spoken and acted. Cf. Æsch., *Ag.*, 760; Aristoph., *Ach.*, 517 sq. — 5. νῦν. *To-day = only now at last.* The position of this word at the beginning of the sentence gives it all that emphasis. And it retains the same in 243. — 243. 6. ὥσπερ ἂν εἶ. Cf. 194. The parallel passage in Æschines, p. 86, runs thus: εἴτ' ἐπερωτᾶν με, ὥς ἐγὼ πινθάνομαι, μέλλει τίς ἂν εἴη τοιοῦτος ἰατρός, ὅστις τῷ νοσοῦντι μεταξὺ μὲν ἀσθενοῦντι μηδὲν συμβουλευοί, τελευτήσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὰ ἔννατα διεξίει πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἃ ἐπιτηδεύσας ὑγίης ἂν ἐγένετο.

It is suggested with some reason that Æschines inserted this in his oration after hearing the orator's reply.—9. **νομιζόμεν'**. οὐτ' ἀποθανόντων νομιζομένων ἡξιώθη Isocr., p. 391. Our word *solemnities* is exactly parallel. The sense of **φέροιτο** (*were being performed*) alludes to the funeral procession. And αὐτῷ, in his honor, is another example of the Dative of Relation.—10. **τὸ καὶ τό**. *So and so*, another instance of the article (or relative) used as a demonstrative pronoun. § 71. Donaldson's *New Cratylus*, 148.—11. **ἐμβρόντητε**. *Lunatic*, lit. *thunder-stricken*. Cf. **τετύφωμαι** (note), 11.—12. **εἶτα νῦν λέγεις**. *So then, you speak at last, do you?* νῦν = *nunc demum* as above. εἶτα expresses irony and indignation.

244–247. WHAT CHANCE HAD I AGAINST PHILIP? HE HAD MIGHT ON HIS SIDE, AND I HAD ONLY RIGHT: I COULD BEAT HIS SIDE IN ARGUMENT, BUT THEY COULD WIN BY ARMS. ALL THAT A SINGLE STATESMAN COULD DO I DID. AND OF THIS I CHALLENGE THE FULLEST INVESTIGATION.

244. 13. **ἦτταν**. Chæroneæ. The dilemma is again merely rhetorical (cf. 217). Æschines might deplore the calamity, and yet feel satisfaction in his rival's policy having been proved a mistake.—**οὐδέ**—*not even*.—**γαυριᾶς**. *Exult*: strictly of a spirited horse. The present tense here includes the imperfect = *did and still do*: on the other hand **προσῆκεν** refers back to a past issue which might have happened but never did; precisely “imperfect.”—14. **ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν παρ' ἐμοί**, *you will not find it (the defeat) to have befallen the city in any one of my measures*, literally, *the things pertaining to me*, i. e. Athens was victorious in its embassies and plans which were managed by Demosthenes, and defeated only in battle where he was not responsible. **ἐν**, not *by*, as rendered by some, but, as usual, *in*.—20. **βασιλέων**, e. g. Cersobleptes who is so prominently mentioned in the speech *c. Aristocr.* (see also p. 160, etc.) and Teres (*ib.*).—21. **τελευταία**. Here follows **πρώην** in one MS., and νῦν in all the other MSS. But Σ reads as above: and either adverb looks very like an interpolation.—22. **ταῦτα**. *These points he (Philip) came and carried by force of arms*.—245. 25. **μαλακίαν**. Æschin., p. 74 (*fin.*): οὐ γὰρ ῥήτωρ ἀστράτευτος καὶ λιπὼν τὴν τάξιν αὐτοὺς ἐνουθέτησεν.—**τὸν αὐτόν**, *the same man*, sc. Demosthenes.—26. **καὶ ταῦτα**, *and that too*, sc. *κρίπτω γενέσθαι τοῖς λόγοις*, dat. of means.—246. P. 87, l. 4. **πάσαν**. *Make any and every examination*: 5, **πάντων**.—7. **πέπρακται μοι**. Grote thoroughly indorses the orator's opinion here, referring especially to the Olyn-

thias and Philippics, above all to the First Philippic. — 8. πολιτικά. If we render πόλεις *states*, perhaps *constitutional* is the best translation of πολιτικά. Whiston well renders: *which are found in all states as constitutional and necessary defects*. — 11. ὁρμήν. *An impulse to do their duty*. — 13. οὐδεὶς μήποθ'. The construction is the common οὐ...μή with the subjunctive where we supply δεινόν or δέος ἐστί, between the two negatives, simply amounting to a future with the very strongest negation. See Madv., *G. S.*, 124, a, 3; C. 627; Cu. 620; H. 845. — 247. 18. οὐθ' ἡγεμών. The phraseology in this passage is a reiteration of 21, 24, 60. The senses of πρὸς are noticed 17. — οὐδ' ὁ λόγος...πρὸς ἐμέ. *The question does not even pertain to me*. — 20. ἡ μή. These words are omitted in one MS., which inserts μή between τῷ and διασφαρῆναι to the great detriment of the sense. But Σ and the rest read as above. Translate: *And really as regards being bribed or not, I have beaten Philip* (i. e. in the game of corruption where one party tries to bribe and the other to resist the bribe): *for as the bidder has defeated the acceptor if he buys him up, so the refuser, the uncorrupted, has defeated the bidder*. Whiston cites Herod., I., 68, 69.

248 — 250. THAT CTESIPHON IS JUSTIFIED IN SPEAKING OF ME IN THESE TERMS IS SUFFICIENTLY PROVED BY THE FACT THAT AFTER CHÆRONEA, IN THE SERIOUS CRISIS OF OUR FORTUNES, I WAS ELECTED AGAIN AND AGAIN TO SERVE ON OUR MOST IMPORTANT COMMISSIONS, AND THOUGH ATTACKED BY INCESSANT PROSECUTIONS ON THE PART OF THE MACEDONIAN FACTION, I WAS ALWAYS ACQUITTED HONORABLY.

248. 24. ἀ μέν. *The materials then with which I supplied my friend* (Ctesiphon) *to enable him to write these words with truth about me*. Here γράφειν has its technical sense, referring to the psephisma which proposed the vote of the crown. The real primary meaning of δίκαιος is always *right* or *righteous*: the narrower senses *true* or *just* are merely secondary notions of the word. As one good instance, see Soph., *Trach.*, 348. — 26. ἀ δ'...ὑμεῖς, *but those which you, the whole people, supplied*. — P. 88, l. 3. ἐμβεβηκώς. *In the very midst of its perils and alarms*, lit. *walking in them*. WHISTON. It agrees with δῆμος. — ἀγνομονήσαι. Cf. 207. The state had reason to feel provoked then if ever at the orator's policy. — 4. ἦν with the force of ἦν ἄν, as so often. See 196, note ἐξήκει. — σωτηρίας. *Salvation*, i. e. deliverance from impending destruction and restoration to perfect soundness. The use of the word to describe political successes is incessant in the



Attic orators. — 7. αἱ τάφροι. See the parallel passage in Lycurgus (*c. Leocr.*, p. 154), ἐπεμελοῦντο γὰρ οἱ μὲν τῆς τῶν τειχῶν κατασκευῆς, οἱ δὲ τῆς τῶν τάφρων, κ. τ. λ. — 9. σιτώνην. *Corn commissioner*. Besides the regular σιτοφύλακες, who had the charge of the public granaries (σιτοδόλαι), there were appointed in any crisis of scarcity (σιτοδεία) special commissioners to procure an extra importation of foreign corn. See *Die. Ant. Sitos*. — 249. 11. γραφάς. See 3, note on ἐλεῖν. On εἰσαγγελίας, see 13. On εὐθύνας, 55, 117, etc. — συστάντων, *having combined* (aor.); ἐπαγόντων, *continually bringing* (imperf. part.). — 12. οὐ δι' ἐαυτῶν, i. e. they suborned persons to make these accusations and carry on these prosecutions, taking care to keep their own share in the proceedings out of sight, and choosing such instruments as were least likely to be suspected of connection with themselves: *subornabant alios quorum nomine sperabant fore ut ipsi laterent*. BREMI. — 14. πρώτους, sc. μετὰ τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχην (Schol.). In 338, when the triumph of Macedon was assumed, there would naturally be a great opening for the Macedonian party at Athens to persecute the Opposition. — 16. Σωσικλέους. Only mentioned here: the same remark applies to Melantus. — Φιλοκράτους of Eleusis (*c. Aristog.*, p. 783): not the person mentioned above (21), who was of Hagnus. — 17. Διώνδου. 222. — 18. τοίνυν. There is an anacoluthon here. After the long protasis and parenthesis the speaker takes breath and starts as if with a fresh sentence. Translate: *well, through all these troubles*. Whiston renders: *on all these occasions, I say*. — 22. εὖορκα. *Who had taken their oath and gave their verdict on oath*, i. e. who gave a conscientious verdict. On the contrast of tenses in these participles cf. the parallel passage, 6; on ὑπέρ = *to the honor of*, cf. 1 and 8; and on εὖορκα, 2. — 250. 21. τὸ μέρος. 222. — P. 89, l. 1. ἐπεσημαίνεσθε. *Continued to sign and seal*, i. e. to approve officially as correct. Æschines uses the word metaphorically, *de F. L.*, p. 34, *indorsing*. — 2. προσωμολογεῖτε, *you further certified*. WHISTON. — 4. ὄνομα. *What name was it proper or right for Ctesiphon to assign to my actions, — was it not that name which he saw the public assigning?* etc.

251. BUT, IT WILL BE SAID, A MAN OF HONOR WOULD NEVER HAVE BEEN PROSECUTED AT ALL. IF SO, HAPPY THE MAN! YET HOW IS HE BETTER THAN THE ACCUSED, WHO IS HONORABLY ACQUITTED? I TOO MAY SAY I HAVE NEVER BEEN PROSECUTED — AT LEAST BY ÆSCHINES.



8. τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου. *That remark of Cephalus was fine: never to be put on public trial. More exactly: that affair of Cephalus was beautiful: never in any instance to have been prosecuted: yes, indeed, and fortunate too.* The passage in Æschines runs thus (p. 81, fin.): 'Ἄλλ' οὐχὶ ὁ Κεφάλος ὁ παλαιὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὁ δοκῶν δημοτικώτατος γεγονέναι, οὐχ οὕτως ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο, ὅτι οὐδεμίαν πώποτε γραφὴν πέφενγε παρονόμων. We have had Cephalus already mentioned, with the other eminent statesmen, 219. — 12. πρὸς γε τοῦτον, *so far as he (Æschines) is concerned at least.* — 14. ἐγράψατο, sc. Διοχίτης. Another taunt on the *indirect* attack (15, 16). γράφεσθαι describes the mere commencement of the action, διώκειν its prosecution. — 15. ὡμολόγημαι μηδέν. Although the normal construction would be οὐδέν we more usually find the negative to be μή after verbs of assertion or concession. If οὐδέν had been written here the negative would not have had so close a connection with εἶναι. Whiston agrees with Schäfer that μηδέν, not οὐδέν, is used to express the admission of Æschines.

252-255. NOW FOR HIS ARGUMENT REGARDING FORTUNE. ANY ARGUMENT FOUNDED ON FORTUNE IS WEAK, BUT HIS PARTICULAR ARGUMENT IS WRONG IN PRINCIPLE. HOW CAN THE FORTUNE OF ANY PRIVATE CITIZEN AFFECT OR IMPAIR THE FORTUNE OF THE STATE? HOWEVER, LET US EXAMINE HIS PRIVATE FORTUNE AND MY OWN, SIDE BY SIDE, IN DETAIL.

252. 17. ἀγνωμοσύνην. *Unfairness*, 207. Cf. ἀγνωμονῆσαι, 248. μεγάλην δὲ Θεοῖς ἀγνωμοσύνην [θέμενοι], Soph., *Trach.*, 1266, *injustice*. — 19. ὅλως μὲν, *in general*. It is correlative to ἐπεὶ δὴ δέ. — 20. προφέρει. Cf. p. 576, l. 13, καίτοι πῶς ἐστὶ δίκαιον τοῦνομα μὲν τοῦτο ὥς ὄνειδος προφέρειν ἐμοί. *So obijcere in Latin.* — 21. ἦν refers to ταύτης below: *how is it proper to speak of that, or how reproach another for that which*, etc. — 27. ἀνθρωπινώτερον, lit. *more humanly*, i. e. with a more just apprehension of human life: *with how much more truth, and the moderation befitting the nature of man.* — 253. P. 90, l. 3. Δωδοναῖον. He assigns this ancient and venerable title here to Zeus, because he wishes to represent him as the Lord of oracles and prophecies, whose estimate of Athenian fortune once declared oracularly must be always true; the fortune of Athens is therefore intrinsically good; though not exempt from sharing in the common distresses of the world, when such distresses are universal as they are at the present crisis. The good fortune of Athens, involving also the favor of the

gods, is a favorite theme with Demosthenes. Compare Phil., I., 12, where he says, "fortune always takes better care of us than we do of ourselves." — **ἡμῖν**. After this word one MS. inserts *καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθειον*. Dindorf, following Σ, reads as above. But Bremi, Bekker, and Whiston retain the insertion. If retained it weakens greatly the force of *καὶ* before *τὸν Δία*, *Zeus himself*, and weakens somewhat the force of the whole sentence. — 4. **ἐπέχει**, *obtains, prevails*. — 254. 7. **τὸ μὲν τοίνυν**. *Now the fact that we chose the noblest policy and the fact that we are in better case than those very Hellenes who expected that their position would be constant prosperity, provided they threw us over — this I set down to the state's good fortune*. — 9. **διάξειν**, i. e. that they would live their lives out in a state of perfect happiness. — 10. **τίθημι** is in its technical sense of recording in a valuation or estimate under a particular item. — **τὸ δὲ προσκροῦσαι**. *But that we have met with reverses and that events have not all turned out as we wished, — this I consider the state has participated as our allotted share in the fortune of the rest of the world*. The infinitives are the direct objects of *μεταλαμβάνω* which like *μετέχω* and *μεταδίδωμι* is often constructed with an accusative, as well as with a partitive genitive, and *τὸ...μέρος* is in apposition with these infinitive clauses. In *ἐπιβάλλον* we have an example of the intransitive use of that verb: so Herod., II., 180, *τοὺς Δεελφούς δὲ ἐπέβαλλε παρασχεῖν*. Id., IV., 115, *τῶν κτημάτων τὸ ἐπιβάλλον*. — 255. 14. **ἰδίαν**. *Personal*, i. e. Æschines has no right to say that my sins bring a curse on the state (Æsch., p. 73): a man's personal fortune only affects his own personal affairs and extends no further; any estimate of it must be made within that limit. — 18. **κυριωτέραν**. *More supreme than*: i. e. more potent in producing effects. Cf. Æsch., p. 73, l.

256. AS HE HAS MADE PERSONAL REFLECTIONS ON ME, I AM OBLIGED, HOWEVER RELUCTANT, TO RETALIATE.

25. **ψυχρότητα**. *Ungenerous feeling*: a lack of that human warmth of heart and sympathy which would naturally produce great tenderness of word and deed towards the unfortunate. This use of the word *ψυχρότης* is unexampled; but the context explains it. The Lexica, however, and the editors translate it otherwise: *indifference, puerility, absurdity*. But L. and S.: *coldness of heart, indifference*. — 26. **ἐγὼ γάρ**, *for I* (emphatic) do not consider any one wise who insults another for being poor, nor prides himself for being brought up in affluence. — P. 91, l. 3. **ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι**. The full form of the

adverbial expression which is usually elliptical. Cf. 4 throughout. — ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων, *under* (lit. out of) *existing circumstances*.

257–264. I HAD THE EDUCATION OF A GENTLEMAN FROM CHILDHOOD UPWARDS, AND I TOOK THE POSITION OF A GENTLEMAN IN PUBLIC LIFE AND BUSINESS. ÆSCHINES BEGAN LIFE AS AN ERRAND-BOY OF VERY DUBIOUS PARENTAGE, WAS THEN ENGAGED IN A SUCCESSION OF MENIAL AND VULGAR OCCUPATIONS, FINALLY EMERGED AS A STATESMAN, BUT WHAT A STATESMAN! — WITHOUT HEART AND WITHOUT CHARACTER!

257. 6. φοιτᾶν has here its common technical sense *to go to school*. παῖς ὢν ἐφοίτας ἐς τίνος διδασκάλου; Arist., *Eq.*, 1235; Plat., *Prot.*, 326, C, etc. The course of school education is fully described in the *Protagoras*, p. 325; it consisted of (1) γράμματα (language spoken and written), (2) study of authors, (3) music, and (4) εὐκοσμία (good principles and good behavior). — καὶ ἔχειν, κ. τ. λ., *and to have what* (i. e. such an inheritance or allowance as) *one must have who is to do nothing mean through indigence*, i. e. I was exempt from the necessity of earning my bread in any menial way, 258. The vulgarity of this “odious comparison” requires indeed all the apology of 256, and even so is intolerable. — 8. ἐξελθόντι, i. e. when I became an ἔφηβος and was entered in the ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον as now τελῶν εἰς ἄνδρας, and of ripe age to hold office. Cf. *c. Mid.*, pp. 564, 565; *c. Aphob.*, p. 857; *c. Onet.*, 865, etc.; Dic. Ant., “ἔφηβος. — ἀκόλουθα, *suitable, the natural sequel*: i. e. undertaking those state offices which only the wealthier class, 104, were required to serve. The Choregus volunteered, as the accepted representative of his tribe, to bear the whole expense of putting one of the selected Dramas on the stage. We have a full account in the *Midias* of how the orator served the Choregia and the Trierarchia (pp. 540, 564). The duties of the Trierarch have been already noticed, 104–106. The system of the Eisphora (extraordinary *Property Tax*) was identical with that described 103, note, ἡγεμόνας. For fuller particulars on the various technical allusions in this paragraph, see Dic. Ant., s. vv.: and with all this account of the orator’s early life compare the speeches against *Aphobus*, p. 811 sq. — 10. φιλοτιμία. *Fell short in no point of duty either public or private*. Bremi says: “officia ex quibus honorifice præstitis laus redundat in eum qui præstitera: hic etiam officia complectitur amicis præstanda.” Though φιλοτιμία is literally *honorable ambition*, we cannot but paraphrase it here. — 16. καλὰ γε, *honorable at any rate*, whatever may be

said of their utility. — 258. 17. **συμβεβίωκα** with the next seven words happens to make a Hexameter. — **πόλλ' ἂν ἔχων**, *though I could say many other things about it*, sc. if I would. — 19. **ἐν οἷς**. *By dwelling on what I am proud of*. The sentiment is exactly the same as in 4. The unexpressed antecedent to **ἐν οἷς** is **τοῖς πράγμασι**, dative of the cause (i. e. the cause of their probable annoyance), in immediate connection with **λυπῆσαι**. — 20. **σεμνός**. *Imposing*: here false assumption is implied in contrast to just pride (**σεμνόμεναι**). On **σεμνός**, cf. 35, **τὰ ῥήματα**. — 21. **πρὸς ταύτην**, *in comparison with this*. — **ποία... τύχη**, *what kind of fortune you have experienced*. — 23. **προσεδρεύων**. *Sitting in attendance on*; i. e. not a member of the school, but only there as errand-boy and drudge. — **μέλαν**. We know little or nothing about the ink used at this period; but from this passage we must infer that it was prepared like our Indian ink by rubbing from a cake. See *Die. Ant.*, *Atramentum*. — 24. **βάθρα**. *Subsellia scholastica*. Cf. *Platon.*, *Protag.*, 325, E, *παρατιθέασιν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων ἀναγιγνώσκειν ποιητῶν ἀγαθῶν ποιήματα*. — **παιδαγωγεῖον**. Synonymous with **διδασκαλεῖον**. The word **παιδαγωγός** has the general sense of *tutor* as well as its particular sense of the *slave who escorted the boy on his way to school*. — 25. **οἰκέτου**. Exactly our own *domestic*: an in-door servant only. — 259. 26. **τελούση**. *Suidas* calls *Glaucothea* a **τελέστρια**, the orator styles her **τυμπανίστρια**, 284. In these initiations, which were of Phrygian origin, *Glaucothea* as high priestess would play the cymbals, and *Æschines* would read the requisite passages out of the mystic books. The deity worshipped in these solemnities seems to have been *Sabazius*, a Phrygian god, afterwards identified with *Dionysus Sabazius*. *Aristoph.*, *Ar.*, 875, **εὔχεσθε καὶ φρυγίλῳ Σαβαζίῳ**, where **φρύγιλος** is a wretched pun on **φρύγιος**. — 27. **συνεσκευοῦ**. *And helped in all the other business* (*ceremonies*, *Kennedy*; *impostures*, *Whiston*), i. e. all the technical performance connected with the rites, as the context explains. — P. 92, l. 1. **τὴν νύκτα**, *during the night*. **μέν** is correlative to **δέ** with **ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις**. — **νεβρίζων**. A coined word, contemptuous in its form; so **κρατηρίζων** also: *working away with fawn-skin and bowl*. The wearing of the fawn-skin in Dionysiac rites is sufficiently notorious; here it is probably meant that the business of *Æschines* was to robe the candidates for initiation, as well as assuming the dress himself. See *Harpocration* (s. v.). The **κρατήρ** would be indispensable, both for libations and for the orgies which followed. — **καθαίρων**. *Dissen*

cites here the excellent explanatory note of Wytttenbach on Plutarch, *de Superstit.*, 166, a. "Lustrationis pars erat ut corpus lustrandum circumlineretur et quasi circumpinseretur imprimis luto, πηλῶ, tum abstergeretur, quorum illud est περιμάπτειν hoc ἀπομάπτειν, *sed utrumque promiscue de tota lustratione dicitur.*" See also Harpocration, s. v. ἀπομάπτων. As here described, the clay was first smeared all over the skin and then rubbed off with bran. The total operation is meant by καθαίρων, the details by καὶ...πιτύροις. — 3. ἀνιστάς is transitive, *raising*, or *making them rise*. — 4. ἔφυγον. *I've escaped the bad; I've found the better.* The idea of initiation is to consecrate and purify the nature of the initiated. Hence the candidate is told to describe himself as renouncing sin and cleaving to good *forever*. Cf. the notorious passage of Isocrates (*Panegy.*, 28) concerning the origin and conception of the Mysteries. Also Cic., *de Leg.*, II., 14. Eurip., *Bacch.*, 900, is compared by Elmsley. The same formula of devotion, as Disson notices, was used at Athens in certain nuptial ceremonies: Suidas, s. v. ἔφυγον. — 5. ὀλολύξαι is the *howling* in the orgies. — καὶ...νομίζω, *and for my part I believe it*, sc. that no one ever did howl so. — 6. οὕτω μέγα. Cf. 285, εὐφῶνον; 313, λαμπροφωνότατος. Also, p. 449, *de F. L.*, where the voice of Æschines is fully criticised. — 260. 8. θιάσους has here its technical sense of a *Dionysiac procession* or rather riot, — "Ἰακχε ἔλθὲ τόνδ' ἀνὰ λειμῶνα χορεύσων ὁσίους ἐς θιασώτας. Arist., *Ran.*, 326. — 9. μαράθῳ. *Fennel*, the Attic form of μαράθρῳ. The plant was supposed to have magic powers. Ælian, *H. A.*, IX., 17, cited by Disson. — λεύκη. The white poplar was supposed to grow in the infernal regions. Harpocration cites Hom., *Il.*, XIII., 389; XVI. 482. That this Dionysus of the Mysteries was one of the χθόνιοι is sufficiently clear from the *Ranæ* of Aristophanes (*l. c.*). — 10. παρείας. *Squeezing the big-cheeked snakes.* Like, if not the same as, the "puff adder." W. The serpents were so called from the puffed shape of their heads; they were not venomous. Cf. Aristoph., *Plut.*, 690. On their use in Bacchic rites, cf. Eurip., *Bacch.*, 697: καὶ καταστίκτους δορὰς | ὄφεσι κατεξώσαντο λιχμῶσιν γένυν. — 11. εὐοὶ σαβοῖ. *Evoe Saboe.* The joyous interjections εὐοὶ, εὐα, εὐάν (said to be of Eastern etymology) were specially appropriate to Dionysiac revels. Σαβοῖ is understood to be the abbreviated vocative of Σαβάξιος. — ὕψ ἄττης. The words of the song put to represent the tune of the dance — Hymen, Hymenæe, is always cited as a parallel. The ancient lexicographers explain ὕψ ἄττης as being mystic

names either of Dionysus or of Atys; and support the former view by fanciful derivations, — ὕψ from ὑετός, ἄττης from ἄτη. We have no other information as to the meaning or origin of the words. — ἐπορχούμενος = *dancing to the song*. — 12. ξυρχος applies to the music, προηγμένων to the procession, = *precentor, leader of the dance*. The meanings of κιστοφόρος and λικνοφόρος are somewhat disputed. But it is pretty well established that the κιστη referred to was the chest in which the mystic articles were shut up and carried in procession (cf. the proverb ὄνος ἄγων μυστήρια, Aristoph., *Ran.*, 159, Schol.): and that the λίκνον was a fan-shaped basket containing first-fruits and all necessities for the sacrifices, Dionysus having, among other epithets, the γέρας of λικνίτης. — 14. ξνθρυπτα. ψωμοὶ οἶνω βεβρεγμένοι οὓς ἐποίουν εἰς σκάφην ἄρτους διαθρύψαντες — καὶ φακὴν ἐπισκεδάσαντες (Ulpian), i. e. bits of bread soaked in a bowl of wine and sprinkled over with pulse. It may be rendered *sweetmeats*. — στρεπτοὺς, *twists*. — 15. νεήλατα, according to Harpocration were *rolls of fresh-ground barley-meal steeped in honey and studded with raisins and chick-peas*. Lobeck, however, derives the word, with much more probability, from ἐλαύνω, citing the use of ἐλατήρ for pastry in Aristoph., *Equit.*, 1181. — 261. 17. ἐνεγράφης. *Enrolled on the list of your deme*. The presiding officer in every deme (δήμαρχος) kept a register of all citizens of full age who could be counted among its members; this was called the ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον, and was the necessary record to prove citizenship. — τοῦτο, i. e. the difficulty you had to get your name put on the list, on the ground of your parentage. — 18. οὖν. *After all*. Here οὖν has its full original force already noticed (23) as an accusative absolute of the neuter participle of εἶμι — *this being so*, i. e. the point being assumed to be true, though not worth discussing. Compare our *I say*, and *however*, in their resumptive use. — 19. γραμματεῦν. 127, δλεθρος γραμματεὺς. *De F. L.*, p. 371, l. 20, etc. The diminutive ἀρχιδίος is sarcastic and contemptuous = *petty magistrates*. Aristoph., *Av.*, 1111, κἂν λαχόντες ἀρχιδιον εἴθ' ἀρπάσαι βούλησθέ τι. — 262. 23. βαρυστόνοις. *To those actors nicknamed the Lugubrious*, doubtless because they overacted the pathetic. We know nothing of them from other sources. In the *de F. L.*, p. 418, we find Æschines acting as tritagonist to a different pair of artistes, Theodorus and Aristodemus; but that was at Athens, not in the rural (or, as we should say, “provincial”) performances. — 26. ὀπωρώνης. *A costermonger*, lit. a small fruiterer who would purchase a stock of fruit from the



market-gardens and sell it on his own account. The rustic audience, according to the orator, pelted Æschines so freely for his bad acting, that he might have set himself up in the olive and fig trade with the quantities which they threw at him. — 27. **τραύματα**. The remark is meant to be facetious: i. e. Æschines received more wounds from figs and olives in his desperate and deadly battles with the audience than he ever did in the state's service. With Dindorf I prefer to retain *τραύματα* here, though Σ omits it; all the other MSS. have it, and Schäfer retained it, though with a different interpretation; according to his view Æschines robbed the orchards and got caught and thrashed while doing so. But the other explanation is simpler and better. So Holmes. But *τραύματα* is probably a gloss, and is omitted by most editors. And *ἀγώνων*, especially with the relative clause which follows, can hardly mean anything else than the *dramatic* contests in which Æschines and his associates were continually battling (imperf.) for dear life. The result was, Demosthenes means to say, that they got more (both kicks and coppers) in this way than from acting in the plays. — P. 93, l. 2. **ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος**, an implacable and unceasing war, where there is no mention of a treaty and no suspension of hostilities on the appearance of a herald with a flag of truce. W. — 4. **σκόπτεις**. As Æschines charged Demosthenes with cowardice in the battle of Chæronea, e. g. p. 76, *καταγαούσης δ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῆς ἀπροσδοκῆτου σωτηρίας τοὺς μὲν πρώτους χρόνους ὑπότρομος ἦν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ παριὼν ἡμιθνής ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα εἰρηνοφύλακα ἑμᾶς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε χειροτονεῖν*. — 263. 5. **ὦν...αἰτιάσαιτ'**, which might be imputed to his poverty, lit. for which one might blame his poverty. C. 431; Cu. 422; G. 173, 2; H. 577, b. — 6. **αὐτὰ...κατηγορήματα**, the actual charges against your character. — 8. **ποτε**. At last: continuing the taunt that Æschines was long excluded from political life by his low origin and occupations. — 9. **λαγὼ βίον**. Herod., III., 108, *ὁ λαγὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς θηρεύεται θηρίου καὶ ὀρνίθου καὶ ἀνθρώπου*. "Lepus," says Bremi quaintly, "omnibus gentibus et ætatibus imago est timiditatis, quippe qui ne dormiens quidem audeat oculos occludere." — 264. 12. **χιλίων**. Diodorus (XVI., 86) returns the loss in the battle of Chæronea at more than a thousand killed and quite two thousand taken prisoners. — 13. **ἐθάρρησε**. Was in high spirits, i. e. was absolutely and obviously exhilarated and emboldened by the circumstance.



265, 266. I RECAPITULATE AND SUMMARIZE THE COMPARISON OF OUR PRIVATE FORTUNES.

265. 21. ἐδίδασκες. This passage has been universally admired by a host of critics from Hermogenes downwards; but I cannot myself admire it at all, except for the neatness with which the "antitheta" are balanced. It appears to me not only vulgar but fallacious. In what respect is the school-boy superior to the pupil-teacher, or the candidate for initiation to the acolyth who initiates him, or the audience to the artistes? The utmost the orator says against Æschines is this, that owing to inferior birth and poverty he had no social advantages, and had to fight his own way in the world. The more honor to him for having successfully achieved it. — ἐτέλεις... ἡκκλησίᾳζον. *You performed initiations, and I was initiated; you danced in the choir, and I was choregus; you were a clerk in the assembly, and I was a member.* — 24. ἐξέπιπτες. *You were hissed off the stage, and I hissed you: for the enemy has all your policy been, mine for my country.* It may be heterodox to say so, but all this antithesis seems to me studied and unnatural, and not at all consistent with the honest indignation which Demosthenes affects. But no doubt it would be very effective as oratory. With ἐξέπιπτες compare *de Fals. Leg.*, p. 449. Mr. Kennedy quotes from Milton's *Apology for Smectynnuus* an imitation of this passage. Speaking of the young divines and students at college, whom he had so often seen upon the stage acting before courtiers and court ladies, he proceeds thus: "There while they acted and overacted, among other young scholars, I was a spectator; they thought themselves gallant men, and I thought them fools; they made sport, and I laughed; they mispronounced, and I mimicked; and to make up the Atticism, they were out, and I hissed." W. — 266. P. 94, l. 2. κινδυνεύεις, *you are on trial whether you are still to continue doing this* (the work of an informer) *or forthwith to be silenced*; and you are sure to lose in either event: if you get your verdict, you go on with your established but degrading profession of traitor and informer; if you do not get a verdict, you're a ruined man and even that career is closed to you. Accordingly, Æschines is said to have left Athens, even before Demosthenes had concluded his speech, and gone into exile at Rhodes. — 5. οὐχ ὀρᾷς. Parenthetical as in 232. *Good, indeed, — don't you see? is the fortune in which having passed your life,* etc. W. — 267. 9. ἐλυμάλινου. *Murdered, or used to murder*, cf. 180. The first iambic cited is Eurip., *Hec.*, 1; the author of the second is

unknown. On the word *κακαγγελεῖν* to be bearer of wretched tidings the point of the next sentence turns: *and wretch as you are, may you come to a wretched doom,—by the judgment of heaven, if so it may be, if not, by the judgment of all here present.* *ἔπειτα* (1) answers *μάλιστα μὲν* with a little more force than *εἰ δὲ μή* (103), representing a closer and more immediate alternative. The Greeks were fond of *paronomasia*, like this: *κακὸν κακῶς ἀπολέσειαν*, cf. Plutarch., *De Sera*, VII.; Mat., XXI., 41. See also the Latin: *malos male perdere*.

268, 269. I WILL NOT MENTION MY PRIVATE BENEFACTIONS. IT IS MEAN OF A MAN EVEN TO RECOLLECT HIS OWN GOOD DEEDS OF THAT KIND.

268. 18. *σιωπῶ, κ. τ. λ.* This rhetorical figure “I will not say,” “I will not mention,” is alike frequent and plausible in ancient and modern oratory. — 20. *ἐλυσάμην.* *Ransomed.* Cf. *de F. L.*, p. 394; *adv. Nicostr.*, p. 1250. — 21. *συνεξέδωκα.* *Helped to dower—**ἔτι τοίνυν καὶ ἰδίᾳ τισι τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποροῦσι συνεξέδωκε θυγατέρας καὶ ἀδελφάς.* *Lys., de Aristoph., pec.*, 59. — 269. P. 95, l. 4. *μικροῦ δεῖν*, *almost.* C. 665; Cu. 564; G. 268; H. 772. — *ὄνειδίζειν*, *sc. with ingratitude and forgetfulness.* Compare the well-known sentiment in Terence, *And.*, I, i, 16:—

Nam is thæc commemoratio

Quasi exprobratio est immemoris benefici.

—7. *ἀρκεῖ μοι.* *Whatever may be my general reputation as to this, that is enough for me.*

270–275. IS DISASTER LIMITED TO US AT ATHENS? IS IT NOT UNIVERSAL, EVEN WHERE MY NAME HAS NEVER BEEN HEARD OF? BLAME BAD FORTUNE: DO NOT BLAME MY BAD STATESMANSHIP. WHY DID NOT ÆSCHINES SUGGEST A BETTER POLICY? BECAUSE THERE WAS NO BETTER. WHEN A MAN HAS DONE HIS BEST TO WIN, LOSING DESERVES NOT CENSURE BUT SYMPATHY.

270. 11. *ἀθῶς*, *unscathed of or by*, followed by a gen. of source or cause. — 12. *νῦν*, i. e. the year 331–330. So in 253, *τύχην ἢ νῦν ἐπέχει.* The supremacy of Alexander was at its height; the news of his Asiatic triumphs was constantly reaching Greece, and his lieutenant Antipater had just crushed the Peloponnesian secession at Megalopolis. — 14. *τὴν ἐμὴν...βούλει*, *my fortune or ill-fortune, whichever you choose to call it.* — 271. 20. *φορὰν* is rendered by some here as in the corresponding passage, 61, *crop*: but most editors take it here, if not also there, in the sense of *rush, current, torrent.* *οὐχ οἶαν ἔδει* is

an adj. clause and may be rendered, *lamentable, intolerable*, lit. *such as ought not to have been*. *πραγμάτων* has here its frequent sense of *troubles*. 272. 22. *τὸν παρὰ τούτοις* clearly means, *me whose political career has been at home among my own citizens*. W. — 273. P. 96, l. 4. *οὐ γὰρ ἔπ' εὐνοίᾳ γ' ἐμοί*, for it was not out of good-will to me, assuredly, that you resigned to me prospects, and admiration, and honors...but because you were compelled by the truth, manifestly, and because you had nothing better to say (advise). Surely you did not sacrifice these in order that I might win them. The fact is, my policy was so good that it was impossible to suggest anything better. As to the construction of the Greek: *ἐμοί* is the dative of relation (Madv., *G. S.*, 35, a), *ἐλπίδων* the genitive of privation (57, b). — 274. 12. *ὀργήν*. The accusatives are in apposition to *διωρισμένα* the object of *ὀρῶ*. — 15. *οὐ κατώρθωσε*. *Failed in common with all, failed with a failure which all shared*. The orator, here as throughout, imputes the failure of his own policy not to bad judgment but to bad luck,—not to his own bad luck, but to the bad luck of the universe at this particular epoch. On the distinction between *ἀτυχήματα*, *ἁμαρτήματα*, and *ἀδικήματα*, cf. Aristot., *Rhet.*, I., 13 cited by Dissen. On unwritten laws, see Soph., *Antig.*, 452, and Xen., *Mem.*, IV., 4, 19, cited by Whiston. — 276. 27. *δεινόν*. *A man of art, and juggling, and sophistry*. We find the same contemptuous collocation in Plato's *Symp.*, 203, D. On the difference between *σοφιστής* and *ρήτωρ*, cf. Aristot., *Rhet.*, I., 1 (*fin.*). — P. 97, l. 1. *ὥς* here, like *ὥσπερ* just above, marks its clause as subjective, that is, expressing the view of Æschines, C. 680 ; Cu. 588 ; G. 277, N. 2 ; H. 795, e ; and the participle *ἔχοντα* is in the accus. although it is not impers. C. 675 ; G. 278, N ; H. 793. Render: *as though when one is the first to say things about another which belong to himself, these, forsooth, must also be true*. — 277. 6. *κἀκείνο...δεινότητα*, *that also I know well, that in regard to my skill as an orator* (but let this pass), — *for be it so*, i. e. if it be admitted: he completes the sentence here interrupted with the words *εὐρήσετε πάντες*, κ. τ. λ., l. 12, below. He admits that there may be some truth in imputing to him professional talent as orator ; but he argues, pretty correctly, that an orator's professional success depends on his being found to meet the sympathies and to serve the interests of his hearers. The very imputation, therefore, of oratorical success is a sort of guaranty of patriotic service. — 9. *ὥς γὰρ...οὕτως*, *for as* (according as) *you may accept and feel kindly towards each*, so (and so only) *does the speaker seem to be wise* (have credit for wisdom). His

reputation both as a statesman and orator rests entirely on the verdict of his audience. For οὕτως=*so only, only to that extent*, compare 7, note in τὰ δίκαια. — 11. οὖν, resumptive, 261. — ἐμπειρία here takes the place of δεινότητα above, and shows what it means. — 13. ἐξεταζομένην, *proved* by the test and examination of facts, 173. — 278. 19. τὸν καλὸν κάγαθόν. Both these adjectives are attributes alike to the mental, the moral, and the physical, — καλός implies the beauty of goodness and ἀγαθός the integrity. In their present common juxtaposition they mean pretty nearly what we call *the man of honor*, and what Cicero calls *honestus*. — 20. τοὺς...δικαστάς, *thou who have come into the court as judges for the public weal*. — 21. ἀξιοῦν αὐτῷ βεβαιοῦν, *to require them to secure to himself, that is, to gratify his own personal resentment and enmity*. — 26. ἐν οἷς. *In cases where the people have to deal with their enemies*, i. e. to defend themselves against their enemies' attack. On this dative of relation depending on the impersonal ἐστί, see Madvig's *G. S.*, 38, a. — 279. P. 98, l. 1. μηδενὸς δὲ ἀδικήματος. *Translate: But that without ever having claimed to get satisfaction from me for any public nor, I will add, even any private wrong either on the state's behalf or his own, he should now come forward having gotten up an accusation against my being crowned and honored, etc.* WHISTON. — 5. συσκευασμένον. Perfect middle. This sense of συσκευάζειν as *concocting* and *conspiring* is abundantly illustrated by the Lexica. — 280. 10. φωνασκίας. Æschines speaks of the orator's voice as ὀξεῖαν καὶ ἀνόσιον (*de F. L.*, p. 49, 157). Here Demosthenes retorts that Æschines *had chosen to take up this contest from a wish* (βουλόμενος denoting the motive) *to make an exhibition of oratory and vocal practice* (λόγων καὶ φωνασκίως), *not to get satisfaction for any wrong*. — 14. ὁ τόνος. *Raising of his voice*. Æschines had taunted him as ἐντεινόμενος τὴν φωνήν (*de F. L.*, l. c.) and had asked τίς ἡ κραυγὴ; τίς ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς; p. 84. Cf. Cic., *Or.*, XVIII. Quintilian, XI., 3. — 281. 19. τῆς αὐτῆς. We understand ἀγκύρας from the context ὁρμεῖ. This genitive has been already discussed 17 (*first note*). The meaning of the proverb *not to ride at the same anchor* is obvious; here alluding to Æschines's Macedonian proclivities. As one of many illustrations we may cite p. 1296, l. 1, μηδ' ἐπὶ δυοῖν ἀγκύραιν ὁρμεῖν αὐτοὺς ἔατε. Cf. Eurip., *Or.*, 68; Plat., *Phaed.*, 227. Bremi, however, understands it to mean "im gleichen Schiffe mit den andern fahren." — 21. ὁρᾶς: 266. — ἐγώ, sc. ἔχω, *I have*. — 282. 24. ἐπορεύου, *wished to go*. See Grote, XI., 699; Plutarch, *Phocion*, c. 10. W. — 26. ἀρνούμενος. Imperfect tense, — *although be-*

fore he always refused this service (of going on embassy). By πάντα χρόνον he probably means only from 346 to Chæronea. The statement any way is quite inconsistent with the spurious psephism (29) which mentions Æschines among its πρέσβεις. — P. 99, l. 2. καταρᾶται. A general imprecation of all who were ἐχθροὶ τῇ πόλει was a formal part of the proceedings in every ἐκκλησία. Cf. Dic. Ant., s. v. The orator implies that his opponent was that worst of all foes, a traitor. — 283. 10. μηδὲν...πράγμα. Compare the familiar expression : τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, *what have I to do with thee?* John, ii., 4. — 284. 18. ξένος ἢ φίλος ἢ γνῶριμος, *guest-friend, or friend at all, or acquaintance.* Compare 51, 52. "The repetitions, the enforcement again and again of the same points, are a distinguishing feature of Demosthenes, and formed also one of the characteristics of Mr. Fox's great eloquence." LORD BROUGHAM. — τυμπανιστρίας, cf. 259, note. — 21. εἰλημμένος and γεγωνός are concessive = *although you have yourself been manifestly found* (lit. caught) *a traitor, etc.* C. 674, f; Cu. 582; G. 277, 5; H. 789, f.

285-291. THE CITY HAS BEEN GRATEFUL TO ME FOR MY MANY SERVICES, AND AS AN INSTANCE OF IT, I WAS APPOINTED TO MAKE THE FUNERAL SPEECH OVER THOSE WHO FELL IN THE BATTLE. MANY OF YOU EMINENT ORATORS ASPIRED TO THE HONOR. BUT THE STATE KNEW HOW YOUR SYMPATHIES AND FRIENDSHIPS LAY, AND THEREFORE REJECTED YOU ALL AND TOOK ME. THE EPITAPH ON THOSE WHO WERE SLAIN CONFIRMS MY ASSERTION THAT THEIR FALL WAS DUE TO EVIL FORTUNE, NOT TO EVIL POLICY.

285. 26. τὸν ἐροῦντ'. The nature of these funeral orations is sufficiently explained by Thucydides (II., 34). Compare also Platon., *Menex.*, p. 236; Demosth., c. *Leptin.*, p. 499; Aristid., *Panath.*, I., p. 331; Cic. *Leg.*, II., 24, 62; *Orat.*, 44, 151. — P. 100, l. 2. Δημάδην. This person was no less remarkable for eloquence than for corruption (Plutarch., *Phoc.*, 1): he was a bitter enemy of Demosthenes (Id., *Demosth.*, 28) and an ardent supporter of Philip, whose good graces he secured when a captive after Chæronea (Diod., XVI., 87): he maintained the same influence with Alexander, and was bribed by the friends of Demosthenes to use it for the preservation of the anti-Macedonian orators when Alexander demanded their execution. Eventually Demades was put to death by Antipater, who detected him playing a double game between himself and Perdiceas (Diodor., XVIII., 48). For further particulars see Smith, Dic. Biog — 3.

**Ἡγήμονα.** This orator and Pythocles were both put to death by order of the Athenian Assembly in the year 317, sharing the fate of Phocion whose supporters they had been. Plut., *Phoc.*, 35. Pythocles is mentioned by the orator, pp. 411, 442. — 7. **ἐτ' ἄμεινον.** Dissen comments thus: "*etiam studiosius et luculentius. Similis usus adverbii καλῶς de quo vide Schæferum ad Soph., Œd. R., 1008.*" We may render the phrase *yet the more*. The passage in Sophocles runs: καλῶς εἰ δῆλος οὐκ εἰδῶς τί δρᾷς. "'T is all too clear thou know'st not what thou dost." 286. 11. **εὐθενούντων**, a rare word in Attic Greek and of doubtful etymology, but used repeatedly in the Eumenides of Æschylus: *for what you denied upon oath when affairs were prosperous, this you confessed in the misfortunes of the state.* — 13. **ὦν... ἄδειαν.** Schäfer understands this to mean *freedom to express their feelings without reserve*. But the phrase will hardly bear this extension. Rather: *secured impunity for their designs*. So Whiston also takes it. The context would fit either translation. — 287. 17. **μήθ' ὁμωρόφιον**, literally, *under the same roof*. Should have neither shared the dwelling or the meal: as these acts would be typical always of sympathy and association. The phrase γεγενημένον εἶναι instead of γεγενῆσθαι seems to be only for variety, the latter form having occurred so instantly before. This usage of the auxiliary εἶναι is not at all uncommon, as Reiske supposes. Cf. Soph., *O. R.*, 580, 1146; Plat., *Tim.*, 26; *Phil.*, 39; *Soph.*, 217, and Madv., *G. S.*, 180, d. — 19. **ἐκεῖ**, in the court of Philip. He seems to be speaking here of the Macedonian rejoicing after the defeat of the Phocians. WHISTON. — **κωμάζειν.** All the editors cite the parallel from the *de F. L.*, p. 380; οὗτος εἰς τὰπνίκια τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἃ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Φίλιππος ἔθνον, εἰσιτιάτο ἔλθων καὶ σπονδῶν μετεῖχε καὶ εὐχῶν ἃς ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν συμμάχων τῶν ὑμετέρων τείχεσι καὶ χώρα καὶ ὅπλοις ἀπολωλόσιν ἤρχετο ἐκεῖνος, καὶ συνεστεφανοῦτο καὶ συνεπαιώνιζε Φιλίππῳ καὶ φιλοτησίας προῦπινεν. — 20. **ὑποκρινόμενον.** Acting his part. The orator reiterates his taunt on Æschines's original profession, 15. — 288. 27. **ὁ μὲν δῆμος.** Another good instance of the really subordinate sentence being introduced by μὲν and the principal by δέ. Cf. 3. Paraphrase: *and it was not the case that while the people voted thus, yet the parents, etc., voted otherwise.* — P. 101, l. 2. **περίδειπνον.** The funeral banquet, called also νεκρόδειπνον. Lucian *de Luctu*, c. 24. — **ὥς.** Fully expressed this phrase would run παρ' οἰκειοτάτῃ ὥς δυνατόν ἦν. Cf. 4. Render: *with the nearest possible relative*. The addition of ὥς always intensifies the



superlative to this maximum degree, and if a preposition is connected with the superlative it naturally comes between it and the *ὡς*. Abundant examples are cited : p. 309, l. 2, p. 585, l. 3, etc. See also *Madv., G. S.*, 96 ; *C.* 553, c ; *Cu.* 631, a ; *H.* 664. — 6. *ὅ γάρ*. *For he who had the deepest interest in their life and fortune, surely he had the largest share of the anguish felt for them all, when they had met that fate, which, oh ! that they never had.* With *μήποτε* we obviously supply *παθεῖν*. The argument is this : the statesman holds as most precious to himself the life and welfare of every single citizen ; therefore he feels most keenly the blow of their loss in every single instance. Kindred would only feel for their individual kin ; but his own grief is universal. “The sentiment is like that which *Œdipus* expresses in the beautiful lines of *Sophocles* (*Ed. Rex*, 88).” KENNEDY. — 289. **ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.** Götting contends ingeniously, but strangely, that Demosthenes himself was the author of this Inscription. He relies especially on the parallel passages in this oration, pp. 297 and 322. Bekker contradicts him. We have no historical evidence on the subject ; but if Demosthenes was the author, why does he not say so here ? And if he was the author himself, what becomes of his argument in 290 ? To the many verse translations which have been already published of this, I venture to add the following paraphrase :

Here lie the dauntless, for their country's right  
Who drew the sword, and crushed the foe's might.  
Death, in the fray, they set by common claim —  
(Their lives they spared not in the thirst for fame) —  
As umpire of their glory or their shame :  
And this for Hellas' sake ; that never thrall  
Nor curse of bondage on her neck should fall.  
Sore had they toiled : their mother earth hath pressed  
(So heaven decrees) their bodies to her breast.  
Heaven's the unerring aim, th' eternal power :  
For man no respite from his destined hour.

— 14. *εἰς δῆριν ἔθεντο*. Literally, *set their weapons to the fight* : a ponderous yet feeble expression : *θέσθαι* as applied to *arms* being properly to *pile* them, and only bearing the former sense when applied to *troops*, not to weapons. — 15. *ἀπεσκέδασαν*. Here, with brilliant rhetorical facility, the will is put for the deed. — 16. *δέματος*. I must differ (for once) from Dindorf in the reading of this ill-expressed and confused passage, which no amount of emendation will make even toler-



able. He reads *λήματος*; but the MSS. all agree in *δείματος*. I think we may interpret it thus: *in the fighting* — a game whose stakes are courage and fear (i. e. display of courage is tantamount to winning the game; display of panic is tantamount to losing the game) — *they spared not their lives; but took Death as their common umpire*. In other words they fought till they lost their lives, and thus appealed to the Lord of the Unseen World to decide whether they had been brave or cowards, winners or losers, in the game of battle. On the construction of *ἀπετῆς* here without *περί* or any similar preposition, see *Madv.*, 56, Genitive as Object of the Verb; and 53, Genitive of Reference. *Soph., Trach.*, 1122; *Plat., Rep.*, V., pp. 459, 470. It is quite true that *ἀπετῆς* is meant to be governed by *βραβῆ* also, but not, as some editors contend, by *βραβῆ* only. In translating, however, we cannot avoid taking it exclusively with the latter: we might say in English *they fought for death or victory*, but we really could not say *fought for shame or glory*. Whiston translates thus: *In their contest they did not save their lives, but of timidity and courage they made Hades the impartial umpire*. — 23. *ἔπορευ*. The subject is clearly *ὁ θεός*, and nothing can be more awkward than the ellipsis. The *δέ* after *μοῖραν* is perhaps meant to have the intensive force of *δή*. So Dissen takes it. But among the many defects of the poem such a trifle as *δέ* coming the fourth word in the sentence, and yet acting as conjunctive, may surely pass unchallenged. Why this inscription has ever been admired I am quite at a loss to discover: to me it seems a tissue of platitudes very clumsily expressed in language by no means original. And the sentiment is false throughout it. These heroes fell *not* as victors but as vanquished, — they did *not* avert the doom of Hellas, — and their defeat was due *not* to destiny, but to the vacillating policy of the country for which they fought so hard and so well. The orator is probably conscious of this last opening being left for his antagonist, and he tries to close it up accordingly in the next sentence, straining the simple sense of the epitaph to suit his purpose. — 24. *καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ*, *in this very epitaph also*, as well as from me. — 290. 26. *ἀνέθηκε*, *he attributes*. This use of the aorist is just parallel to the Epistolary imperfect in Latin, the time of action being restricted to the very time of writing, i. e. a past time; whereas our own idiom looks on the thing written, as an agency, on the part of its writer, which is present as well as past. — P. 102, l. 3. *τρέψειαν*. Strictly optative: i. e. to express a prayer.

291-300. YOUR UNDISGUISED SYMPATHY WITH OUR ENEMIES BRANDS YOU, ÆSCHINES, AS A TRAITOR. IF IT WAS MY DOING, AS YOU ALLEGE, THAT WE OPPOSED THE DESPOT, I GLORY IN THE DEED. BUT YOU TAUNT ME WITH BEING A PARTISAN OF PHILIP. SURELY IT IS YOU, AND THE LIKE OF YOU IN OTHER STATES, WHO DESERVE THIS IMPUTATION. I AND MY STATE UTTERLY DISCLAIM IT. IN WORD, THOUGHT, AND DEED I HAVE PROVED MYSELF PHILIP'S UNCOMPROMISING FOE. I APPEAL TO FACTS FOR CONFIRMATION.

291. 7. ὥς ἄν. Supply ἔσχε, *would have had*, not, as Schäfer says, ἔχοι. — 9. ἐπάρας, *with his voice raised and in exultation and with a screech*. λαρυγγιῶ τοὺς ῥήτορας (i. e. *screech them down*), Arist., Eq., 358. More literally: *raising his voice and exulting and straining his windpipe*. — 12. τοῖς γεγενημένοις. *In the miseries that had come to pass he had no feeling in common with the rest* (of his fellow-citizens): i. e. he stood alone in his glee, every one else being in despair. This is mere repetition of 244, 217. — 292. 13. καίτοι. *And yet one who professes regard for the laws and constitution, like my opponent at present, should at any rate have this attribute if nothing else, that he sympathizes in sorrow and in joy with the nation, and never in his public policy bands himself with the party of their foes*. τοῖς πολλοῖς is the natural dative following an expression of identity; τετάχθαι as a perfect tense suggests entire and complete partisanship; κοινῶν depends on προαιρέσει, which is a *dativus modi*. — 293. 21. ἐπέ. *For if you were to grant me this, that it was through MY influence you were led to oppose that despotism over Hellas which was being organized, you would grant me a greater boon than all which you have given to the rest*. ἐμέ is emphatic both by its form and its place in the sentence; by ἄλλοις are meant any other statesmen who have received public votes of thanks or emoluments. — 294. P. 103, l. 5. φιλιππισμόν. Lord Brougham compares “Jacobinism.” We have already had φιλιππισάντων, 176. — 7. ἐπ’ ἀληθείας, 17. *If laying aside falsehood and all malicious speech you ought to inquire on the basis of truth who they are in reality on whose head all would naturally and justly lay the blame of what has happened* — 11. κεφαλῇν, *einem etwas auf den Kopf schuld geben* (Schäfer). — 295. 17. ὑπάρχον-τας Schäfer explains *belonging to them*, i. e. *of their own faction*: Dis-  
sen, *available*, i. e. *open to being led away*: Westermann, like Schäfer, *their own severally*, and so Whiston. But the word must surely mean a little more than a mere possessive pronoun. Transl. *who were in their*

*hands*: i. e. who were subordinate members of the states in which these others were leaders, and who blindly trusted to their leadership. — **διαφθείροντες**. The orator always divides the Greek world into two classes: those who sympathized with his own Athenian policy, and those who did not: to the latter he gives the sweeping designation of traitors. Against this Polybius (XVII., 14) makes a very proper protest: *πικρότατον θνείδος τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰκὴ καὶ ἀκρίτως προσέριψε*. — 18. **Δάοχος**. Harpocration, under the name *Μύρτις*, mentions a number of these revolutionists, quoting the lost history of Theopompus where further particulars seem to have been given. No historical interest attaches to any of the names: some of them we have had already in 48, 69, 71 cited with the same application. Hipparchus is mentioned by the orator, p. 125. And Demaratus is named by Plutarch (*Alex*, 9) as a friend of Philip, and companion of Alexander in his expedition to the East. Cicero imitates this passage, in his oration against Verres, II., 4. — 296. 27. **ἐπιλείψει** suggests at once the obvious parallel in the Epistle to the Hebrews, xi., 32. — P. 104, l. 4. **ἀλάστορες**. *φανείς ἀλάστωρ ἢ κακὸς δαίμων ποθέν*, *Æsch.*, *Pers.*, 354. *τοῦδ' ὁ παλαιὸς δριμύς ἀλάστωρ*, *Id.*, *Ag.*, 1501. The orator speaks of these persons as if they were sent for divine visitations on the sins of their respective states — *national curses*. Whiston renders the three epithets; *foul and fawning and fiend-like*. — 5. **ἡκρωτηριασμένοι**. Perfect middle. *καὶ τῶν νηῶν καπρίους ἐχουσέων τὰς πρώρας ἡκρωτηρίασαν*. Herod., III., 59. Here exactly *crippled*, as Kennedy translates. — 6. **προπέπωκότες**. According to the Scholiast whom Dissen quotes (*Pind.*, *Ol.*, VII., 5), *προπίνειν* strictly is to present the drinking-cup as a gift to your guest at the banquet where he drinks from it. That it means to *pledge a health* (*propinare*) we have abundant evidence in the Lexica. The orator (p. 284) dwells on the fact that Philip *προῦπινεν ἐκπώματ' ἀργυρὰ καὶ χρυσὰ αὐτοῖς*. And on p. 34 he uses the phrase *προπέποται τὰ πράγματα* in a sense exactly the same as here: *toasted away*. So Lord Brougham. — 10. **ὅροι καὶ κανόνες**, *normæ et regulæ*: *standards and rules*. — **ἀνατετροφότες**. *While they have subverted liberty and independence* (lit. the having no master over themselves). The similarity of form in the perfects of *τρέπω* and *τρέφω* is sufficiently noticed in all grammars and lexica. The later form in each case was *τέτραφα*, and some editions here read *ἀνατετραφότες*. I have followed Dindorf in retaining the omicron. — 297. 14. **εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν**, *if we*

*must speak in earnest, lit. not trifle.* — 17. *καὶ ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν, and I before you, sc. have been made guiltless (sub. ἀναίτιος γέγονα).* — *ἀντί,* followed by the genitive of price, *for, in return for.* The answer to this question which follows is greatly admired by Lord Brougham. — 298. 25...27. *οὐδὲ...συμβεβούλευκα, nor in all the advice that I have ever given to my hearers, have I ever, like you* (Æschines and the other hirelings just mentioned) *advised as if I were the tongue of a balance inclining towards lucre.* If this reading of Dindorf (ὥσπερανεὶ τρυτάνη) be correct, the orator compares himself to the tongue of a balance, but disclaims any bias or leaning in one direction, that direction being private advantage. The common reading is ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐν τρυτάνη, *with an inclination towards lucre, as if set on the scales* [with a bias]. *ρέπων* in either reading would be intransitive, describing the speaker's own bias, not the direction he gives to that of others. The passage in *De Pace*, 12, is an excellent illustration: ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ θάτερα ὥσπερ εἰς τρυτάνην ἀργύριον προσενέγκῃς οἴχεται φέρον καὶ καθείλκυε τὸν λογισμὸν ἐφ' αὐτὸ, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔτ' ὀρθῶς οὐδ' ὑγιῶς ὁ τοῦτο ποιήσας περὶ οὐδενὸς λογίσαιτο. — P. 105, l. 1. *ψυχῆς.* Here follow in most editions the words τὰ πάντα μοι πέπρακται. They are not found in Σ, and look very like an interpolation. — 299. 5. *μου.* There is not, I think, the emphasis on the pronoun here which Whiston conceives. It would in that case be ἐμοῦ. The passage in Æschines is p. 87. *εἰ μὲν γὰρ λέγεις ὅθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἐποιήσω, ὅτι τὰς τάφρους τὰς περὶ τὰ τεύχη καλῶς ἐτάφρευσε, θαυμάζω σου, κ. τ. λ.* For the agreement of *ἄξια*, see C. 496; Cu. 366; G. 138, N. 2; H. 511. — 6. *πόρρω*, i. e. *far below.* So *πρόσω δικαίων*, Æsch., *Eumen.*, 414. — *που* = *perhaps.* See Lex. — 7. *οὐ λιθοῖς.* This is the passage quoted at the beginning of Libanius's Hypothesis. The idea, though not quite original, is clothed in good and bold language by the orator, and comes in as a most effective repartee on his opponent. The well-known ode of Sir W. Jones, "What constitutes a state?" is cited by Whiston in illustration. — 9. *μέγιστον φρονῶ.* *I feel most proud.* The genitive τῶν ἐμαντοῦ depends on the superlative: lit. *most of my doings.* Fully expressed the phrase would have run ὥς μεγίστοις οὖσι τῶν ὑπ' ἐμαντοῦ πεπραγμένων. But the compression gives it thrice as much force. — 11. *τόπους, κ. τ. λ.* The allusions are clearly, as Dis-sen remarks, to Eubœa, Broetia, Megaris, Coreyra, and Leucadia (see 227–237). These accusatives have all to be understood afterwards as the object of ἀμυνουμένων, *τούτων* being the whole body of the

citizens supposed present in their public assembly which the speaker is addressing. — καὶ πολλοὺς...ἀμυνουμένους, *and many to defend them for us.* πολλοὺς, however, is not in the best MSS. and edd. — 300. 17. τοῖς λογισμοῖς, *calculations, i. e. tactics.* He means that his own political calculations were the best humanly possible; that he cannot admit Philip to have been his superior in political judgment, but only in successful fortune. Observe the emphatic position of ἐγὼ in contrast with Philip and his tactics. — 18. στρατηγοί. Tamen Athenienses post cladem Lysiclem prætorem, accusatore Lyeurgo, capitis damnarunt, conf. Diodor., 16, 88. DISSEN. — 19. δυνάμεις. The singular is more usual in speaking of military forces. But the plural may be justified here by the fact that several states were combining their respective forces.

301–323. Conclusion: I MYSELF HAVE ALWAYS ACTED AS A TRUE STATESMAN.

301. 23. οὐκ...προβαλέσθαι, sc. χρῆν: *was it not his duty to place Eubœa as a defence before Attica on the side of the sea?* — 26. ὁμόρους. He means Achæa, Corinth, and Megara. — σιτοπομπίαν, 87 sq. As to the construction, Schäfer cites a very happy illustration, p. 1262, l. 16, οἱ μὲν γὰρ νόμοι καὶ τὰς ἀναγκαίας προφάσεις ὅπως μὴ μείζους γίνωνται προείδοντο. — 27. φιλίαν. Supply γῆν, according to the very common Attic ellipsis: πολεμία is used in exactly the same way. — παρά = *along*. — 302. P. 106, l. 2. ὑπαρχόντων, *of what we have already*, i. e. subject allies: a very similar use of ὑπάρχειν to that already noticed in 295. — ἐκπέμποντα agrees, of course, with πολίτην, which is understood together with χρῆν in all these clauses: *by sending out succors* from time to time; the imperfect participle denoting a continued or customary action. — 3. Προκόνησον, in the Propontis, originally a free colony from Miletus; then subjected to Athens; and ultimately to Cyzicus, the modern Marmora. In the speech against Polyces, p. 1207, the orator speaks of Proconnesus as an ally of Athens. The dates of its history are uncertain. — 4. τὰ δ', constructed like σιτοπομπίαν above, that is, after πράξει, with τὸ Βυζάντιον, κ. τ. λ., as appositions. — 7. ὦν. The genitive of privation depending on ἐνέλειπε, which is here impersonal. ὦν ἐνέλειπε as opposed to ὑπαρχουσῶν represents ἃ οὐχ ὑπῆρχε. — 303. 10. ἃ καί. The καί = *both*, emphasizes the connection of *plan* and *execution*, for *both* of which the orator claims equal approval. — 13. παρεθέντα, i. e. he disclaims any sin of (1) omission, or of (2) ignorance, or (3) treach-

ery. — 15. ἦκεν, *were dependent on*, — a favorite Attic use of the verb. ὥστ' εἰς ἐμὴν ἦκει τῆς πόλεως τὰ πράγματα. Aristoph., *Plut.*, 919. — 18. ἐλυμαίνετο...ἀνέτρεψαν, *went on (imperf.) damaging our cause till they ruined (aor.) all*. W. Holmes makes τοῖς ὅλοις adverbial. But better dative after ἐλυμαίνετο, which, as Drake with the approval of Whiston observes, here takes the dative because it has the notion of successive attacks *upon* or *against*. See also *Lex.*, s. v. — 304. 23. ἐμοί. Dative after ταῦτά. Cf. ἄλλοις, 291; πολλοῖς, 292. — 24. ἐκέχρητ' ἄν, *would have experienced*. — 305. P. 107, l. 2. ἐλάττοσι in its position here as a predicate requires us to paraphrase instead of translating: *That ye may know that the words I employ are far less than the deeds I refer to*. Drake well renders ἐλάττοσι, *falling far short of*. — 3. εὐλαβούμενος. Cf. 3, 4. — Λέγε. See 28, last note. The words from τὸν ἀριθμὸν to ψηφίσματα are put in brackets by some editors, and have indeed something the air of an interpolation, but Dindorf retains them, and Schäfer defends them. — 306. 7. κατορθουμένων. Here follows ὃ γῆ καὶ θεοὶ in most editions. Dindorf omits the words and they are not in Σ. Render with Whiston: *in the event of the success of which indeed, beyond a doubt, we might have been pre-eminently great*. — μεγίστοις agrees obviously with ἡμῖν, which we supply as the dative depending on ὑπῆρχεν. The use of these imperfects without ἄν in a conditional apodosis of past time has been already noticed, 248. — 9. τὸ δικαίως. *The attribute of justice would have been ours as well*: i. e. we should have been justly supreme as well as unquestionably. — ὥς ἑτέρως is euphemistic = *quite otherwise*, that is, *adversely*. See note, 212. — 10. περίεστι, in connection with the rest of this sentence, gives the idea of something saved from a wreck. Whatever we have lost, at any rate we have saved reputation and honor. *And although they have turned out quite otherwise, there remains at any rate a good reputation*. — 307. 12. οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἀποστάντα, (thus should a patriot act) *and not, no not by any means, deserting the interests of the state and hiring himself to its enemies, cherish the opportunities of the enemy instead of those of his country, and malign the man who has undertaken both to advise and propose courses of action worthy of the state, and who has made it a principle to abide by them*. ὑποστῆναι, of putting one's shoulder under the burden, in contrast to ἀποστῆναι above; the genitive with ἐπί has been discussed in 17. — 18, ἄν δέ, *while if any such person annoy him (τὸν βάσκανον) at all individually, he lays it up in his memory and keeps an eye upon the person*. The δεῖ at the beginning



of the paragraph is carried all through this long sentence, and the οὐδέ following *θεραπεύειν* has to be carried on to *μεμνηῆσθαι* also. — 19. οὐδέ γ', at any rate he ought not to maintain an unrighteous and hollow silence. The epithet ὑπουλος suggests a festering sore of which, however, the surface is healed and gives no symptom of mischief. So Æschines, as the orator alleges, holds his tongue and looks pleasant, although his heart is full of venom. The alleged sins of Æschines are threefold in this paragraph: (1) treachery to his own state, (2) malignant envy of her true statesmen and private malice against them, (3) affectation of being perfectly satisfied at the time, and subsequent show of great indignation. The first of these is introduced by οὐ μὰ Δι', the second by οὐδέ, the third by οὐδέ γ'. — 308. 22. ἀπλῶς, honestly, as distinct from ὑπουλος. All this is in answer to Æschines, p. 84. — P. 108, l. 1. τοῦ συνεχῶς, sated of the man whom you hear incessantly: our idiom requires this amount of paraphrase: he alludes to the fact that the prominent statesman must needs be always making public speeches. — 2. δύσκολον, provoking, euphemistic, like ἐτέρως, 306. — 309. 4. ἡσυχίας. Suddenly he comes out as a speaker from his silence,—like a gale after a calm. ἐφάνη is the gnomic aorist. C. 605; Cu. 494; G. 205; H. 707. ἡσυχίας must be taken also in close connection with πνεῦμα, the ἐκ being transitional only, as in τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδορκότος (Soph., O. T., 454), etc. — 5. πεφωνασκηκῶς, with well-trained voice and words and phrases collected, 279. — συνειλοχῶς. στωμυλιοσυλλεκτάδη, Arist., Ran., 866; συλλέγων μονωδίας, 874; ἐπύλλια, Ach., 405. — 6. συνέλπει, he strings them together with distinct utterance and without drawing breath. — 13. ἐμπορίου, provision for commerce between Athens and any particular foreign city, which would require a commercial treaty, etc. to be arranged. — 15. ἀποδειχθεῖσιν, declared, i. e. open and undisguised. — 310. 16. ἐξέτασις, opening, lit. a process of examining: hence an open examination, where any competitor may enter and distinguish himself. — 17. ἀποδείξεις, opportunities: lit. displays of ability; i. e. occasions on which a man might display it. — 18. οὐδαμοῦ. The metaphor is still from a competitive race. On the auxiliary use of φαίνεσθαι, φανερὸς εἶναι, δηλὸς εἶναι, see Madv., G. S., 177, b; C. 657, k; Cu. 590; H. 797. — 20. ὅποστοσοῦν, the any-eth whatever. The termination -οστός, commencing with the ordinal twenty, is common to all ordinal numbers above the twentieth. The correlative οὖν corresponds to the Latin -cunque. Donaldson's G. G., 245. Dissen thinks the orator is here alluding to the notorious oracle addressed to



the Megarians : ὑμεῖς δ' ὧς Μεγαρεῖς οὔτε τρίτοι οὔτε τέταρτοι οὔτε δυωδέκατοι οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ οὔτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ, Schol., *Theocr.*, XIV., 48. — ἐπὶ γ' οἷς, at any rate not in anything which led to the advancement of your country. As οἷς here is neuter, I take the οἷς before οὐδαμοῦ to be neuter also (meaning *in which competition*), not masculine, as Reiske interprets. — 311. 23. διακονία would include home government and policy, while πρεσβεία would be limited to foreign. — 25. ξενικῶν, c. g. Thrace and the Bosphorus, 244. — 26. ποῖαι with its usual sense of sarcasm, as in each of the questions where it follows. Dinarch., c. *Demosth.*, p. 102, ποῖαι γὰρ τριήρεις εἰσὶ κατεσκευασμέναι διὰ τοῦτον, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Εὐβούλου τῇ πύλει ; ἢ ποῖοι νεώσοικοι τούτου πολιτευομένου γεγόνασι ; πότε οὗτος ἢ διὰ ψηφίσματος ἢ νόμου ἐπηνόρθωσε τὸ ἱππικόν ; κ. τ. λ. — 27. τί τῶν ἀπάντων, in what possible department ? πάντων, 5. — P. 109, l. 1. εὐπόροις are the ἡγεμόνας of 103, as ἀπόροις are the πένησιν of 107. — 2. πολιτικῇ... χρημάτων, financial relief for the state and the public. W. 312. 3. τάν, my good friend : the colloquial appellative, which, however, occurs once in tragedy (*Soph., Philoct.*, 1373). Buttmann has argued with great probability that it is an archaic vocative τα of τυ (σύ) with ν epheleusticon added. The old derivation made it the vocative of ἔτης. — 6. ἐπεδίδουσιν. There were special patriotic funds started directly after Chæronea, and again to assist Thebes in the revolt against Alexander. But, indeed, during the whole period B. C. 338 to 335 there would be constant opportunities for wealthy persons to show their public spirit in this form. — 7. ἐπιτιμίαν, restoration to civil rights, cf. 15. He appears to have been disfranchised by the imposition of a heavy fine. His friends then subscribed to pay the fine for him. But he handed over the money so collected to be used not for his own restoration, but for the expenses of the state. It is supposed that this Aristonicus is the same mentioned in 83, etc. — 11. ξρανον. A contribution of two talents as a present from the Heads of the sections, for which consideration you murdered the trierarchic law. The word ξρανος only implies that the sum was raised by joint subscription among the ἡγεμόνες (103) as a retaining fee to Æschines for taking up the case in support of their vested interests. How far he succeeded in the "slaughter of the innocent," and when, we have no historical information. Others render ἐφ' οἷς, for the damage which you did, taking οἷς as the (cognate) object of the verb, attracted into the dative by the preposition. Either translation is possible and makes equally good sense. Compare Whiston in loc. and Grote, XI., 645.

— 313. 14. ἐκκρούσω, *put myself off*, lit. *adjourn myself*, ἐκκρούσας εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν, p. 385 (*fin.*). Dissen wrongly quotes ἐξέκρουόν με, p. 348, where it means they *hissed me off* (*explodere*). The orator means here that if he goes into every detail one after another, he will lose the time for arguing his present and immediate point. Render: *that I may not by speaking of one thing after another cut myself off from the matter in hand.* — 16. φυλάττων is opposed to δι' ἔνδειαν: *it was not for want of means that you did not contribute, but from your care that no act of yours should be opposed to those for whom you manage everything in your public life.* — 17. τούτοις οἷς. Masculine: i. e. Macedon and the Macedonian party, οἷς being the dative of relation in the category *commodi*. — 18. νεανίας, *vigorous*. Youth as the type of (1) *vigor* or (2) *violence* appears in the uses of νεανίας and all its derivatives, as the Lexica abundantly testify. The context will always show whether the good or bad sense predominates. Cf. p. 37, l. 10; p. 557, l. 25; Aristot., *Eth.*, I., 1 (*fin.*), etc. — 19. λαμπρός, *brilliant*, a favorite combination with νεανικόν, as in the passages above cited. — ἥνικ'... δέη, *whenever you must needs speak against the people here.* — 21. Θεοκρίνης. Harpocration informs us that this person was a συκοφάντης, as indeed the speech [Demosth.], *c. Theocr.*, would lead us to infer. There is no other interpretation of the sarcasm than Dissen's, viz., that Theocrines, like Æschines, affected to deplore the fate of those who fell victims to his intrigues (cf. Æsch., 72, 76). — 314. 25. προλαβόντα, *having drawn upon the good-will which subsists on your part towards the dead* (the good feeling which you cherish to the memory of the departed), *to examine me and compare me with them, — me who am still alive among you.* Æschines had done this in his peroration, p. 79, alluding to Miltiades, Themistocles, Aristides. The orator justly protests against any comparisons of "virtus incolumis" with "virtus sublata ex oculis." The language (εὐνοίαν, κ. τ. λ.) is closely parallel to that of 1. — 315. P. 110, l. 2. φθόνος. Cf. Thucyd., II., 45, φθόνος γὰρ τοῖς ἑωσι πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδῶν ἀνανταγωνίστῳ εὐνοία τετίμηται. The sentiment is too notorious to need further illustration. — 4. κρίνωμαι. *Am I to be put on trial and examined?* The subjunctive in questions paves the way for the imperative in answers. For examples, cf. Madv., *G. S.*, 121. The sense of θεωρῶμαι is made plain by ἐξετάζειν in 314. — 6. ἄλλον. *Any one else you please of those whose policy is identical with yours, and who are now alive.* The orator only challenges comparison of merit with

the living, not with the dead; and only with the opposition party, not with those whose policy had been his own. — 316. 9. *ὑπερμεγέθεις*, which are colossal—*nay more*; one could not express their magnitude. A good example of *μέν οὖν* in its corrective force, which is quite as common in prose as in poetry. Plat., *Gorg.*, 466, etc. — 12. *ἀγειν*, to expose to thanklessness and insult such services as are being done for the present period. The sense of *ἀγειν* suggests a speaker dragging something out of its existing position into another to which it does not belong. — 317. 14. *ἄρα*, as it seems, i. e. judging by my opponent's argument. — 18. *κατ' ἐκείνους*, all through their time (17, note, *κατ' ἐκείνους*) as *ἐπ' ἐκείνων* would mean simply *in their time*. In some texts *τοὺς χρόνους* is added here, but it is not found in Σ, and I follow Dindorf in excluding it. — 19. *διέσυρον*, 27, 218, 323. — 318. 23. *ἀδελφός*. Philochares, one of the ten *στρατηγοί*, reappointed three successive years (*Æschin.*, p. 48). He had also a younger brother, Aphobetus, who served in distinguished civil capacities. But the former is probably alluded to here. — 26. *τοὺς καθ' αὐτόν*, and with those of his own age. — 319. P. 111, l. 1. *Φιλάμμων*. Mentioned by Harpocration as a distinguished boxer and athlete. Cf. *Aristot., Rhet.*, III., 11; *Eustath., on Hom. Il. ψ.*, 686. — *Γλαύκου*. Mentioned as having won the prize for boxing in the twenty-fifth Olympiad. Cf. *Pausan.*, VI., 10; *Lucian, de Imagin.*, c. 19. *Æschines* (p. 81) replies to the orator's argument here, having obviously inserted the reply for the first time in this published oration, though he so phrases it that it might seem a part of the original speech; but the coincidence is a little too remarkable. — 6. *ὅρα*. Cf. 315 (end). — 7. *οἰδένα*. *I shrink from none*, i. e. I will stand side by side with any, to be looked at and compared. Of this accusative, *Madvig (G. S.*, 23, a) states the principle thus: "Many intransitive verbs, which denote a motion, on composition with a preposition, assume a transitive signification"; e. g. *μετέρχομαι*, *περίσταμαι*, *ὑφίσταμαι*, *ὑποδύομαι*. But we see that *ἐξίσταμαι* also retains its force as an intransitive verb, for it is constructed quite as often with a dative of reference. *Soph., Aj.*, 673, is an example of the latter; and *ib.*, 82, is an example of the former. In translating any verb of this twofold construction, we must be careful to observe the context and to modify the English accordingly. If the reading *οὐδενί*, which many MSS. give here, were taken for our text, we should translate: *I yield to none*, i. e. consider myself the equal of any. Cf. p. 460, l. 2; p. 617, l. 15, etc. —

320. 8. ὧν = *of whom*, part. gen. after ἐγὼ κράτιστα. — ἐφ' αὐτῶν. *Open* (for competition). This use of the adjective is peculiar to the orator : so p. 488, 13. The more usual sense is *equal, a match*. — 13. μήποτ'. We supply συμβαίνειν. The euphemism is too common to need illustration. — 17. ἕτερον, sc. Φίλιππον. — ἐξέτασις. Ironical ; he draws a picture of the Macedonian party at Athens, looking out for leaders and members ; they would hold, he suggests, an *inspection* of the public men, to pick out not the best advisers for state, but the most venal and treacherous and ready supporters of Philip. Cf. 310, ἐξέτασις. — 18. ἐν τάξει. *At your post*, i. e. you were exactly the sort of people whom this inspection would cause to be selected for office. — 19. ἵπποτρόφος. Schäfer and Dissen agree in understanding this to be typical of luxurious and wealthy position, comparing p. 1046, l. 8 ; Xen., *Æc.*, 2. 6, etc. In Attica, as in Palestine, *keeping horses* was a sign of wealth and luxury. Isocr., 16. 33. Reiske and others understand it of volunteer cavalry, but with no authority to support their view ; which, however, if supported, would give by far the best force to the passage. We may paraphrase, *a great man, and famous for his stud*. — 321. 21. μέτριον = *respectable, fair*. Cf. note 10, where it is used in the same way as here, with the same reason for choosing the word, viz. to avoid envy and odium. φύσει, as we see from the use of φύσις just below, means *according to the measure of human capacity*, as opposed to the superhuman and the supernatural ; that which is within the compass of human attainment or control in distinction from that which is controlled by fortune or providence. τὸν φύσει μέτριον, therefore, means *the reasonably good citizen*, or, as Lord Brougham renders, *the citizen of ordinary worth*. This seems to accord better with the signification of the words and the demands of the context, than *the well-disposed citizen*, which is the reading of Kennedy and Whiston, but which is too nearly *identical* with εὐνοία, one of the things that the citizen must possess. — 23. ἐξουσία. *When in power* : as we should say, *when a member of the government*. Cf. Aristot., *Eth.*, II., 3, for an instance of this sense of ἐξουσία. I quite agree with Whiston in declining Dissen's translation, *opportuna momenta*. — 25. εὐνοίαν. *Good feeling* towards the state here, as in 1. It would correspond to our *patriotism*. He means that, whereas political disasters and misfortunes may destroy a statesman's policy, nothing should ever destroy, or even impair, his devotion to his country : *for*, he argues, *this is in nature's control*, i. e. the man's own spirit is respon-

sible for keeping him a true patriot; *while power and strength are in other hands*, i. e. depend on fortune and chance. — 322. Π. 112, l. 1. **ἐξαιτούμενος**. Alluding again to the demand made by Alexander for the surrender of Demosthenes and the other leading orators in 335. Plut., *Vit. Demosth.*, c. 24. — 2. **ἐπαγόντων**, sc. τῶν Φιλίππιστων. Æschines mentions (p. 76) that an attempt was made to arraign Demosthenes before the Amphictyonic Council, apparently on the ground of his having deserted from an embassy. The passage runs thus: *ἐπειδὴ περὶ Θήβας ἦν τὸ στρατόπεδον πρεσβευτῆς ἐφ' ὑμῶν χειροτονηθεὶς ἀποδρὰς ἐκ μέσου τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος ἤκεν ὑποστρέψας, οὐτ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ οὐτ' ἐν πολέμῳ χρήσιμον ἑαυτὸν παρέχων· καὶ τὸ πάντων δεινότατον ὑμεῖς μὲν τοῦτον οὐ προὔδοτε, οὐδ' εἰλάσατε κριθῆναι ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεδρίῳ*. The embassy in question was charged to convey the apologies of Athens to Alexander for the attempted revolt in 336. Demosthenes may have known that his presence would be specially obnoxious to Alexander, and also may have had fears for his own personal safety. But whatever the motive of his desertion, that could not have been made a charge before the court of Amphictyons (see Smith, *Dic. Ant.*), who would have no jurisdiction in the matter. Dissen suggests that the charge was against the orator as having been the open antagonist of Philip when the latter was acting as Amphictyonic general. No better explanation has been suggested. — 2. **ἐπαγγελλομένων**, *when they kept making offers*, i. e. offers of bribes on the part of Macedon. — 4. **προσβαλλόντων**, *when they set these accursed wretches at me like savage beasts*. With this use of *προσβάλλειν* we may compare its common signification in the middle voice *to make an attack on*. — 5. **ὀρθὴν καὶ δικαίαν** has the predicative force, hence the article with *ὁδόν*. Render with Whiston: *for from the very first, straightforward and honest was the course of policy which I chose*. — 8. **μετὰ τοῦτων εἶναι**, *to be on their side*, sc. of the honor and glory of my country. So Bremi, and this gives the proper force of *μετά* better than the more common rendering: *in these to have my being*. — 323. 9. **ἐτέρων**, *the other side*, sc. the Macedonians. — 11. **ἐκεῖσε**, *to Macedon*. — 15. **ὥσπερ**. *Who vilify the state as though, forsooth, they were not thereby vilifying themselves* (as responsible for the state policy) *while they turn their eye abroad* (in admiration), *and where another has triumphed by the ruin of the Greeks, they glorify this, and protest that it must be so maintained forever*. Their sympathies are entirely with Macedon and against Athens: they despise and abuse the latter, they admire and glorify the former.

324. Peroration. HEAVEN CHANGE THEIR HEARTS, OR HASTEN THEIR DOOM, OUR ONLY CHANCE OF SALVATION !

20. *μη δῆτ'.* *Never, I implore you, ye powers of heaven, never bestow your sanction on that ! But, if it may be, inspire even them with a better mind and heart ! Or if, as they seem, they are past repentance, give THEM — and them alone — to utter and speedy ruin by land and sea : and to us the rest, grant ye the quickest relief from our imminent terrors, — yea, a salvation that knows no fall.* The force of this would be a good deal destroyed in English if we took literally the *μηδεῖς* with which it commences, — *let no one of you*, i. e. no deity either lower or higher. The sense of *προ* in *προώλεις* implies *before they have finished our ruin* ; their doom must be speedy or else our salvation will be past praying for. The commentators all admire the rhetoric of this passage, and confess their inability to preserve either the music or the full meaning of the language in a translation. It is often compared with the conclusion of Cicero's first Philippic.

THE END.



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